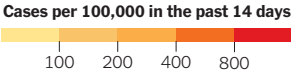


Europe’s Second Wave

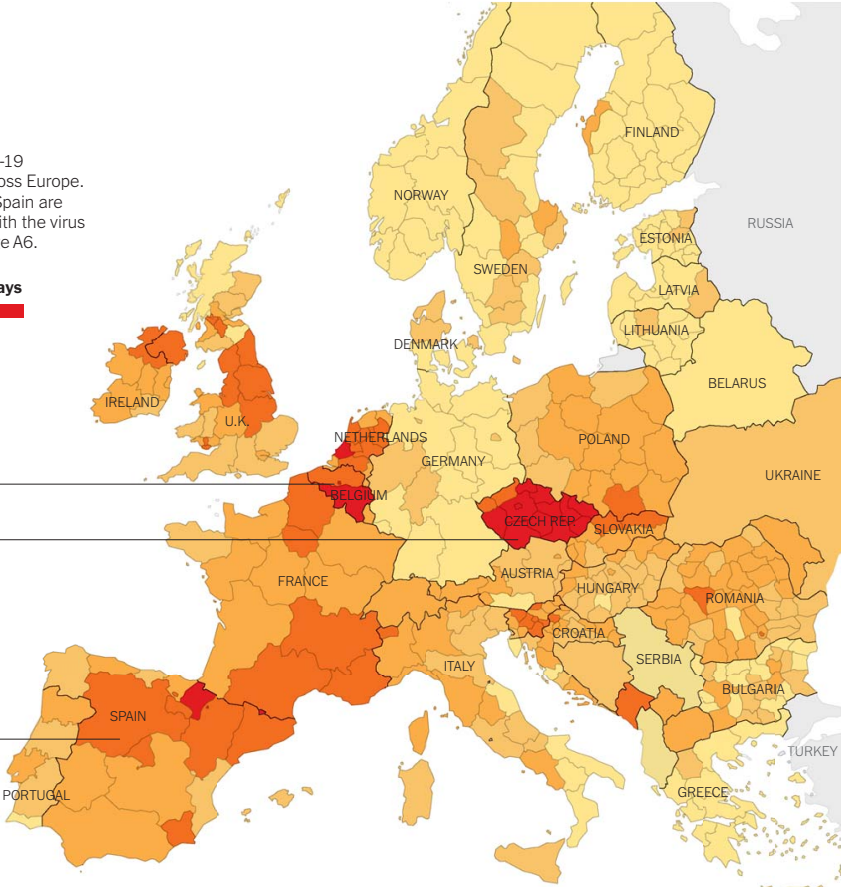
An abrupt surge of seriously ill Covid-19 patients is threatening hospitals across Europe. People in France, Italy, Poland and Spain are now more likely to be hospitalized with the virus than those in the United States. Page A6.



Belgium postponed all nonessential hospital work as coronavirus patients doubled.

About one in 10 medical workers are infected or quarantined in parts of the Czech Republic, where the hospitalization rate is higher than Britain at its peak.

More than a fifth of intensive care beds in Spain are occupied by Covid-19 patients.



Source: European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control; New York Times database

ALLISON MCCANN AND LAUREN LEATHERBY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

After Debate, Climate Takes Center Stage

By LISA FRIEDMAN

WASHINGTON — Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s pledge Thursday night to “transition away from the oil industry” to address global warming put the topic of climate change on center stage for the final stretch of a campaign year in which the issue has played a larger role than ever.

Mr. Biden’s statement in the closing moments of Thursday’s debate gave President Trump what his campaign saw as an enormous opportunity to blunt his opponent’s appeal to working-class voters. Mr. Biden’s campaign tried to downplay it, saying he was merely stating that he would phase out longstanding tax subsidies for the oil industry.

But transitioning away from fossil fuels is the inevitable end game of Mr. Biden’s promise to end net carbon pollution by 2050. That policy has energized some young voters and helped unite the Democrats’ left and moderate wings, but has always carried risks for Mr. Biden.

“Last night, Joe Biden issued a crystal-clear threat to 19 million Americans with his promise to eliminate the oil industry. No amount of spin or cleanup from Biden or his team can rectify this error,” Steve Guest, a Republican National Committee spokesman, said Friday morning.

In no political year has climate change been as dominant an issue as in 2020.

Both presidential debates delved into the matter in depth for the first time in history. Mr. Biden campaigned hard on promises to reduce planet-warming emissions, proposing a \$2 trillion program to promote clean energy, construct 500,000 electric vehicle charging stations and build 1.5 million new energy-efficient homes.

President Trump has worked sporadically to moderate his long-time climate denial by promoting tree-planting as an environmental solution, even as he has maintained his avid support for the coal and oil industries, taken steps to roll back climate regulation imple-

Continued on Page A13

Tax Records Contradict Trump Claims of Charity

This article is by Susanne Craig, Russ Buettner and Mike McIntire.

In President Trump’s telling, he is a committed philanthropist with strong ties to many charities. “If you don’t give back, you’re never ever going to be fulfilled in life,” he wrote in “Trump 101: The Way to Success,” published at the height of his “Apprentice” fame.

And according to his tax records, he has given back at least \$130 million since 2005, his second year as a reality TV star.

But the long-hidden tax records, obtained by The New York Times, show that Mr. Trump did not have to reach into his wallet for most of that giving. The vast bulk of his charitable tax deductions, \$119.3 million worth, came from simply agreeing not to develop land — in several cases, after he had shelved development plans.

Big Bulk of Donations in Form of Land Deals, Netting Write-Offs

Three of the agreements involved what are known as conservation easements — a maneuver, popular among wealthy Americans, that typically allows a landowner to keep a property’s title and receive a tax deduction equal to its appraised value. In the fourth land deal, Mr. Trump donated property for a state park.

The New York attorney general is investigating whether the appraisals on two of Mr. Trump’s easement donations were improperly inflated to win larger tax breaks, according to court filings.

Mr. Trump’s pronouncements of philanthropic largess have been

broadly discredited by reporting, most notably in The Washington Post, that found he had exaggerated, or simply never made, an array of claimed contributions. His own charitable foundation shut down in 2018 amid allegations of self-dealing to benefit Mr. Trump, his businesses and his campaign.

But the tax data examined by The Times lends new authority and far greater precision to those findings. The records, encompassing his reported philanthropic activity through 2017, reveal not only its exact dimensions; they show that much of his charity has come when he was under duress — facing damage to his reputation or big tax bills in years of high income.

Of the \$7.5 million in business and personal cash contributions reported to the Internal Revenue Service since 2005, more than 40

Continued on Page A18

New Peak for U.S. Cases: Over 82,000 in Single Day

13 States Endure Their Worst Week Yet — Warnings of a Cold-Weather Surge

This article is by Campbell Robertson, Edgar Sandoval, Lucy Tompkins and Simon Romero.

The United States is in the midst of one of the most severe surges of the coronavirus to date, with more new cases reported across the country on Friday than on any other single day since the pandemic began.

Since the start of October, the rise in cases has been steady and inexorable, with no plateau in sight. By Friday evening, more than 82,000 cases had been reported nationwide, breaking a single-day record set on July 16 by more than 3,000 cases.

By that measure, Friday was the worst day of the pandemic, and health experts warned of a further surge as cold weather sets in. The number of people hospitalized with Covid-19 has already risen 40 percent in the past month. Deaths have remained relatively flat but are often a lagging indicator.

The latest outbreaks, tracked by The New York Times using reports from state and local health departments, are scattered across the country, in states like Illinois and Rhode Island, which are experiencing a second upswing, and in

places like Montana and South Dakota, which are still enduring a first flood of cases.

Thirteen states have added more new confirmed coronavirus cases in the past week than in any other seven-day stretch. As of Friday, six states had set or tied weekly records for new deaths. Wisconsin had its deadliest day of the pandemic on Wednesday, with 47 total deaths announced.

The geography of the pandemic has constantly changed since the coronavirus reached the United States last winter. Outbreaks struck the Northeast in the spring, the Sun Belt in the summer and now the states of the Midwest and the West, which hold the 10 counties in the country with the most recent cases per capita.

“It’s been rise after rise after rise, week after week,” said Dr. Tom Inglesby, director of the Center for Health Security at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. “Nothing has been added to the mix that’s going to make things slow down.”

For many, the soaring numbers brought back ragged memories of what it was like in mid-July, when the virus was raging through the

Continued on Page A7

Who’ll Be in Charge of Safety? Looming Worry on a Vaccine

By CARL ZIMMER

As the first coronavirus vaccines arrive in the coming year, government researchers will face a monumental challenge: monitoring the health of hundreds of millions of Americans to ensure the vaccines do not cause harm.

Purely by chance, thousands of vaccinated people will have heart attacks, strokes and other illnesses shortly after the injections. Sorting out whether the vaccines had anything to do with their ailments will be a thorny problem, requiring a vast, coordinated effort by state and federal agencies, hospitals, drug makers and insurers to discern patterns in a flood of

data. Findings will need to be clearly communicated to a distrustful public swamped with disinformation.

For now, Operation Warp Speed, created by the Trump administration to spearhead development of coronavirus vaccines and treatments, is focused on getting vaccines through clinical trials in record time and manufacturing them quickly.

The next job will be to monitor the safety of vaccines once they’re in widespread use. But the administration last year quietly disbanded the office with the experts

Continued on Page A5

TRIALS RESUME Johnson & Johnson and AstraZeneca restarted their late-stage vaccine trials after pausing over safety. PAGE A6

She Used to Clean a Russian Town’s City Hall. Now She Runs It.

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

POVALIKHINO, Russia — With election day looming, Nikolai Loktev was in a panic: The mayor of a tiny village of log houses, wood-burning stoves and rutted dirt roads 300 miles east of Moscow, he was running for reelection unopposed.

In a Western democracy, this would not necessarily set off alarms; it might even be welcomed. But in Russia, where elections are rigged and the ruling United Russia party virtually always wins, the bedrock political principle is to create the illusion of democratic choice.

For that, Mr. Loktev needed an opponent.

But it was proving difficult to find one in the village. He had already asked a number of Povalikhino’s residents, including his assistant at city hall and a member of the Community Party who had run and lost in elections in 2011, but both declined.

When he finally found who he thought was a willing patsy in the person of one Marina Udgodskaya, who cleans City Hall, he thought his troubles were over.



EMILE DUCKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Marina Udgodskaya did not campaign in the mayoral race in Povalikhino, Russia. She won anyway.

But then she won. Nobody was more surprised than Ms. Udgodskaya, who did not campaign and who said she had agreed to run in the election last month only to help her boss. “He just needed somebody

else, anybody at all, so the election could take place,” Ms. Udgodskaya said.

At first, she said, she was “worried and confused” when the results rolled in, but she is now quite clearly warming to the

idea of the mayoralty. “You shouldn’t expect anything in an election,” she said.

She agreed to be sworn in, more than doubling her salary to 29,000 rubles, or about \$380 a

Continued on Page A11

Collins in Peril As Maine Loses Political Center

By JONATHAN MARTIN

BANGOR, Maine — Senator Susan Collins of Maine seemed to have a challenge on her hands.

A Republican running for reelection in a difficult year for her party, Ms. Collins was opposed by a well-funded Democrat with a political base in vote-rich Southern Maine who was hoping to capitalize on the unpopularity of the Republican in the White House. But in that 2008 race, even as the G.O.P. presidential nominee lost Maine by 17 percentage points, Ms. Collins won re-election by over 20 points, carrying every county in the state.

That was then. Twelve years after what Ms. Collins thought was the most difficult re-election of her career, she is facing eerily similar circumstances — but this time she’s in the fight of her political life. And it is what has changed since 2008 in Maine, the Republican Party and politics broadly that could end her career.

The four-term senator has

Continued on Page A19



NATIONAL A12-21

Refugee Camp at U.S. Doorstep

A squalid tent camp on the Mexican border is the result of President Trump’s limits on asylum. PAGE A12

Everlasting Fire Season

After a horrific summer of blazes in the West, Colorado fights an out-of-control inferno as ski season nears. PAGE A20

INTERNATIONAL A8-11

It Was Her Look. Now Look.

Myss Keta, an Italian rapper, was long distinguished by masks she wore to hide her identity. Now, everyone looks like her. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A8

Another Deal With Israel

Israel and Sudan have opened economic ties as a path toward normalized relations, President Trump said. PAGE A9

SPORTSSATURDAY B7-9

Baseball’s Dry 2020 Playoffs

The pandemic has toned down this year’s clinching celebrations. But there may soon be one big party. PAGE B7



ARTS C1-6

Liberty’s Torch Reimagined

Abigail DeVille’s Madison Square Park sculpture, “Light of Freedom,” conjures a long line of freedom fighters. PAGE C6

Those Absurd Urbanites

On HBO’s “How to With John Wilson,” the filmmaker offers an anthropological take on fellow New Yorkers. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-6

Gig Giants in Big Ballot Fight

Uber, Lyft and DoorDash are among the companies that have spent nearly \$200 million to support a California proposition that could save them from a new labor law they say is too costly. PAGE B1

Quieting Labor Enforcement

A memo told federal officials, such as those in OSHA, to hold back on news releases about findings of violations, saying they can linger unfairly online if citations are overturned. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Jamelle Bouie

PAGE A22

THIS WEEKEND



VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

French Art de Vivre

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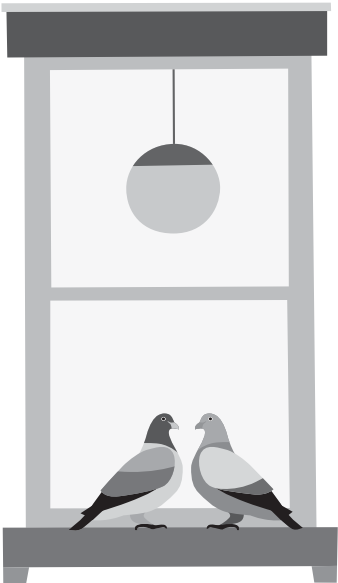


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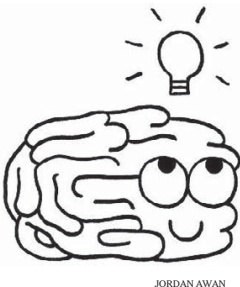
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Inside The Times

THE STORY BEHIND THE STORY



JORDAN AWAN

The News Quiz

Did you follow the headlines this week? Take our quiz to find out.

1. The Justice Department sued Google on Tuesday. What has it accused the company of doing?
a. Promoting disinformation
b. Using anticompetitive practices
c. Stealing data
d. Spying on users

2. The United States charged six Russian military intelligence officers in major cyberattacks. Which of the following was *not* a target of the suspects?
a. A French presidential election
b. The electricity grid in Ukraine
c. The opening ceremony of the 2018 Winter Olympics
d. The Twitter accounts of several high-profile Americans

3. President Trump cut off an interview with which program and later taunted its star on Twitter?
a. “60 Minutes”
b. “Frontline”
c. “Good Morning America”
d. “The Ingraham Angle”

4. Which company has agreed to plead guilty to criminal charges and faces penalties of roughly \$8.3 billion for its role in the opioid epidemic?
a. Purdue Pharma
b. Johnson & Johnson
c. McKesson
d. Teva

5. The documentary “Francesco” debuted at the Rome Film Festival on Wednesday. In the film, Pope Francis voiced support for which issue?
a. Abortion rights
b. The death penalty
c. Female priests
d. Same-sex civil unions

6. A court ruling in which country has effectively banned legal abortions?
a. Brazil
b. Italy
c. Mexico
d. Poland

7. Which novel approach did Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez take to help spur voters to the polls?
a. She created a viral TikTok dance.
b. She dressed up as a ballot box.
c. She invited her followers to watch her play a video game.
d. She ran a marathon around her congressional district.

8. The shortest and strangest season in Major League Baseball history is coming to a close. Name the two teams competing in the 116th World Series.
a. The Atlanta Braves and the Tampa Bay Rays
b. The Houston Astros and the Los Angeles Dodgers
c. The Los Angeles Dodgers and the Tampa Bay Rays
d. The Houston Astros and the Atlanta Braves

9. Which college fraternity is facing a revolt over racism and its embrace of Robert E. Lee as a “spiritual founder”?
a. Kappa Alpha
b. Kappa Sigma
c. Phi Gamma Delta
d. Sigma Alpha Epsilon

10. What did Disney add to some older films on its streaming service?
a. Bloopers
b. Censor bars
c. C.G.I. animation
d. Warnings for racist stereotypes

11. A 2,000-year-old etching of which animal was discovered by archaeologists on a hillside in Peru?
a. An alpaca
b. A cat
c. An eagle
d. A penguin

Find previous quizzes at nytimes.com/newsquiz.
The News Quiz is published online on Fridays.
Dudding, Anna Schavertsen and Jessica Anderson.
8. C; 9. A; 10. D; 11. B. This quiz is by Will
Solutions: 1. B; 2. D; 3. A; 4. A; 5. D; 6. D; 7. C;

On This Day in History

A MEMORABLE HEADLINE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

BEIRUT DEATH TOLL AT 161 AMERICANS

October 24, 1983. In one of the worst overseas terrorist attacks against the United States, a suicide bomber drove a truck loaded with explosives into a U.S. Marine barracks at the airport in Beirut, Lebanon, killing 241 American service members (according to later accounts). It was the highest total of U.S. military personnel killed in a single attack since the Vietnam War. The explosion turned “into a burning mound of broken cement pillars and cinder blocks,” The Times reported. Minutes later, another suicide attack killed 58 French paratroopers at their barracks two miles away. The bombings were traced to Hezbollah, a militant and political group that formed in Lebanon in 1982.

Subscribers can browse the complete Times archives through 2002 at timesmachine.nytimes.com.

The Newspaper And Beyond

CORRECTIONS A21
CROSSWORD C3
OBITUARIES B11
OPINION A22-23
WEATHER B12
CLASSIFIED ADS B9

VIDEO

In case you missed the final presidential debate on Thursday, The Times video team has assembled highlights that include the candidates’ statements on the pandemic, race relations and immigration. nytimes.com/video



AUDIO

The jazz vibraphonist Joel Ross is exploring what swing means in 2020. Listen to tracks from “Who Are You?,” the new album from Mr. Ross and his quintet, Good Vibes. nytimes.com/music



COOKING

From sausage ragù to vegan cacio e pepe, the NYT Cooking team offers a collection of fall pastas you’ll want to make all season long. (Best enjoyed in your coziest sweater.) nytcoking.com



EVENT

With just a few days until Nov. 3, The Times’s deputy politics editor, Rachel Dry, will host a discussion about what might happen next in the election. Oct. 29 at 6 p.m. E.D.T.; to R.S.V.P., visit timesevents.nytimes.com.

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Of Interest

NOTEWORTHY FACTS FROM TODAY’S PAPER

About two-thirds of students who graduated from college in 2019 had education debt, around \$29,000 on average, according to the Institute for College Access and Success.

With Loans Paused, New Graduates Shouldn’t Delay B5

Some 10.5 million American employees own stakes in the companies they work for through employee share ownership programs.

Selling a Business and Saving a Legacy B5

Before he fell to end an 80-yard run Thursday, Daniel Jones of the Giants reached 21.23 miles an hour, which, according to NextGen stats, is the fastest top speed by an N.F.L. quarterback over the last three seasons.

Pratfalls, First By Giants’ QB, Then by Giants B8



Donald Trump won about 36.5 percent of votes in his home state of New York in 2016 and was polling at less than 30 percent against Joe Biden.

Hometown to ‘Ghost Town’: Trump Swipes at New York A15

The filmmaker John Wilson estimates that each of his 10-minute shorts from earlier in his career required a year of gathering footage, in addition to writing and editing.

The Absurd Poetry of New York City C1

Several prominent Western supporters of President Vladimir V. Putin — including the American actor Steven Seagal and the French actor Gérard Depardieu — have received Russian citizenship.

After Years of Living in Exile, Snowden Is Granted Permanent Residency in Russia A8

Though Uber and Lyft are publicly traded companies with a combined worth of \$70.5 billion, they have never been profitable.

Gig-Economy Giants Face The Ballot Fight of Their Lives B1

The Conversation

FIVE OF THE MOST READ, SHARED AND DISCUSSED POSTS FROM ACROSS NYTIMES.COM

Biden and Trump’s Final Debate: Who Won?

Times Opinion writers picked the winner of the last showdown before the presidential election and ranked the victory on a scale of 1 to 10. This was Friday’s most read article.

Covid in the U.S.: Latest Map and Case Count

States in the Midwest and Rocky Mountains are struggling to control major outbreaks. As of Friday afternoon, more than 8,485,000 people in the United States had been infected with the coronavirus and at least 223,300 had died.

The Upshot on Today’s Polls

A New York Times/Siena College poll released Friday of likely voters in Montana showed President Trump leading Joe Biden by six points.

Susan Collins Hasn’t Changed Much, but Maine Has

Facing a divided state, a transforming Republican party and a polarized political culture, Ms. Collins, the four-term senator of Maine, is in “the fight of her political life,” wrote Jonathan Martin, our national political correspondent.



Trump Posts ‘60 Minutes’ Interview After Telling Lesley Stahl: ‘That’s No Way to Talk’

The unfiltered footage, which showed the president growing increasingly irritated as the veteran correspondent asked him about the pandemic and other issues, was scheduled to air Sunday. CBS News called Mr. Trump’s pre-emption a breach of its agreement with the White House.

Spotlight

ADDITIONAL REPORTAGE AND REPORTEES FROM OUR JOURNALISTS

The Times’s coverage of Thursday’s debate between President Trump and Joseph R. Biden Jr. included a live chat that featured 16 journalists. The following is an edited excerpt of comments made immediately afterward from four of the panelists: Patricia Cohen, national economics correspondent; Lisa Lerer, writer for the On Politics newsletter; Jennifer Medina, national politics reporter; and David Sanger, national security correspondent.

Lisa Lerer My instant reaction is that Trump was far more disciplined. He landed a few sharp attacks, even as he diverted into some issues that seem more like fodder for the conservative media-sphere. But it was a more normal debate, for sure.

Patricia Cohen Lisa, I agree, it was a pretty substantive debate, and Trump did not lose his cool, which will probably reassure some voters who like Trump’s policies but have been turned off by his behavior and comments at times.

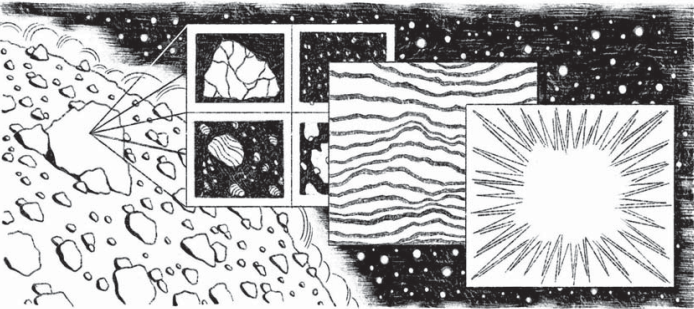
David Sanger The tone couldn’t have been more different from the first debate. Trump had some strong moments — the crime bill, job creation. Biden was strongest on climate and a vision for his term. Trump was at a loss to discuss the children separated from their parents. Biden sometimes went way off course. In all cases, the absence of interruptions was welcome.

Jennifer Medina To get in the weeds for a second, I was struck by the fact that immigration came up at last, on the heels of the news that hundreds of children have not been reunited with their parents. But there was very little discussion of actual policy on what is, pandemic aside, one of the most vexing issues in the country. Politicians have been calling immigration an emergency that needs to be addressed for decades at this point.

Sketchbook

ONE ‘GOOD MESS’ FOR MANKIND

Extracting just three ounces from the asteroid Bennu could help NASA scientists better understand our solar system. This week, their space-craft’s sampling arm touched Bennu’s surface, kicking up a burst of dirt and rocks — a “good mess,” one scientist called it, and a great sign.



Quote of the Day

TRADING FEAR AT HOME FOR MISERY ON AMERICA’S DOORSTEP A12

“I haven’t done anything, I haven’t stolen anything, and still I have to keep escaping. Why?”

JAQUELINE SALGADO, who fled to a refugee camp in northern Mexico, where she and her family now face the threat of illness and cartel violence.

Here to Help

HOW TO HANG A PICTURE, STEP BY STEP

Tools you’ll need: A hammer, measuring tape, pencil, level and picture hanger (hook, nails and wire). For heavier frames: a screwdriver or cordless drill.

Find and mark your position. Artwork should hang at about eye level. Use a pencil to mark a point 58 inches up from the floor. For pieces hung above furniture, the bottom of the frame should be 8 to 10 inches above the top of the furniture.

Measure your frame. Measure the height of your frame. Add half that number to 58 inches, and this is where the top of your frame should be positioned. Mark that point.

Choose your hardware. Sawtooth hangers are popular, but not very sturdy or reliable. Use them only for small, light pictures. A hook and wire hanger is a sturdier option. The wire is suspended across the back of the frame by D-ring loops in the sides of the frame. An anchor is useful for frames that are 20 pounds or more. To use one, find the wall stud and drill a screw directly into that spot. If the stud is not in a good location, use a drywall or Molly



anchor to hang directly from the wall.

Adjust for your hardware. Measure the distance from your hanging hardware to the top of the frame. (Pull taut any wires.) If the distance is, say, 2 inches, subtract 2 inches from the point you’ve marked for the top of your frame. This is where the nail goes. Mark this point on the wall.

Hang your art. Carefully set your art on the hook or screw. Try not to scratch the wall. End by ensuring it is level. (Affixing rubber or felt bumpers to the lower corners of the frame will help.) **RONDA KAYSON**

Find more household tips at nytimes.com/athome.

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Tracking an Outbreak

The New York Times

Coronavirus Update

U.S. Infections Set Single-Day Record

Cases Surge in Kentucky and Colorado

Still Debating the Use of Masks in Idaho

By JAMES BARRON

On Thursday, the same day that President Trump said the coronavirus was “going away” and Joseph R. Biden Jr. warned of a “dark winter” ahead, the United States recorded one of its highest daily totals of new cases: 75,064.

By Friday evening, a new peak in the pandemic had been reached when more than 82,000 cases in a single day were reported nationwide, breaking the daily record set on July 16 by more than 3,000 cases.

Thirteen states have had more new infections in the past week than in any other seven-day stretch. But geographically, the contours of the pandemic have changed as the virus has worked its way across the country and moved from cities to rural areas. In some places, the rise in cases feels disturbingly familiar — states like New Jersey and Illinois are enduring a second round of infections — while the pandemic has appeared in places like Montana and Kansas that were spared in the spring and summer.

Hot spots are also emerging in other parts of the country. Officials in Kentucky announced more than 1,470 cases on Thursday, the biggest one-day jump in that state. More than 1,300 cases were recorded in Colorado, another single-day record. And in Washington, Gov. Jay Inslee tweeted that the state had passed the 100,000-case mark, adding that “we all need to commit to having fewer, shorter, safer interactions — especially as the weather keeps us inside more often.”

So many cases in so many places — so many more than hospitals are prepared for. A hospital in Idaho that was 99 percent full warned that it might have to transfer coronavirus patients to facilities in Seattle or Portland, Ore. Medical centers in Kansas City, Mo., turned away ambulances on one recent day because there was no room for more patients.

In some places, masks remain a subject of debate. In Idaho, where Gov. Brad Little has left decisions on restrictions to local health departments and school districts, a regional health board voted to repeal a local mask mandate. The Associated Press reported that the Kootenai County board took the action after being told that the hospital in its largest city, Coeur d’Alene — which had doubled capacity in rooms to accommodate more patients and bought additional beds — was essentially full.

Lockdown in Poland

Poland was close to a national lockdown after declaring the entire country a “red zone.” In the past week, Poland has registered just over 75,000 new cases, about a third of its caseload for the entire pandemic. Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki addressed the spike, saying on Friday, “We absolutely must cut the means of transmission of infection.” Hoping to accomplish that, the government ordered masks to be worn in public spaces. It also directed cafes, bars and restaurants to close, except for takeout orders, and switched primary schools to remote learning. Officials also urged people over 70 to stay home.

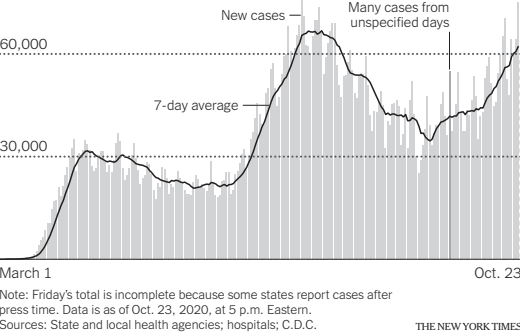
In the Czech Republic, Dr. Roman Prymula, an epidemiologist who became the national health officer last month, after complaining that restrictions had been relaxed too quickly, may be on the way out. The Czech tabloid Blesk published photographs on Thursday of Dr. Prymula leaving a restaurant and stepping into a chauffeur-driven government car without a mask, in violation of rules. On Friday, Prime Minister Andrej Babiš threatened to fire Dr. Prymula if he did not resign.

News outlets said that Dr. Prymula went to the restaurant on Wednesday evening, hours after he announced new restrictions that included travel limitations and store closings. “Such a mistake cannot be excused,” Mr. Babiš said. “We cannot preach water and drink wine.” Mr. Babiš called for Dr. Prymula’s resignation, adding, “If he doesn’t resign, I will let him go.”

A month ago, Dr. Prymula predicted “an increase of 6,000 to 8,000 confirmed Covid cases per day unless we take further action.” In the past week, the Czech authorities have reported an average of more than 10,570 new cases a day, or 697 cases for every 100,000 residents.

New Coronavirus Cases Announced Daily in U.S.

As of Friday evening, more than **8,513,400** people across every state, plus Washington, D.C., and four U.S. territories, have tested positive for the virus, according to a New York Times database.



No Access to Everest

Climbing Mount Everest requires experience, energy, equipment and access. On Friday, climbers with the first three lost the fourth, at least temporarily. The Nepalese government suspended trekking and mountaineering in the Everest region on Friday after an 80-year-old politician from a town in the Solukhumbu district tested positive for the coronavirus. Everest, the world’s highest mountain, rises more than 29,000 feet.

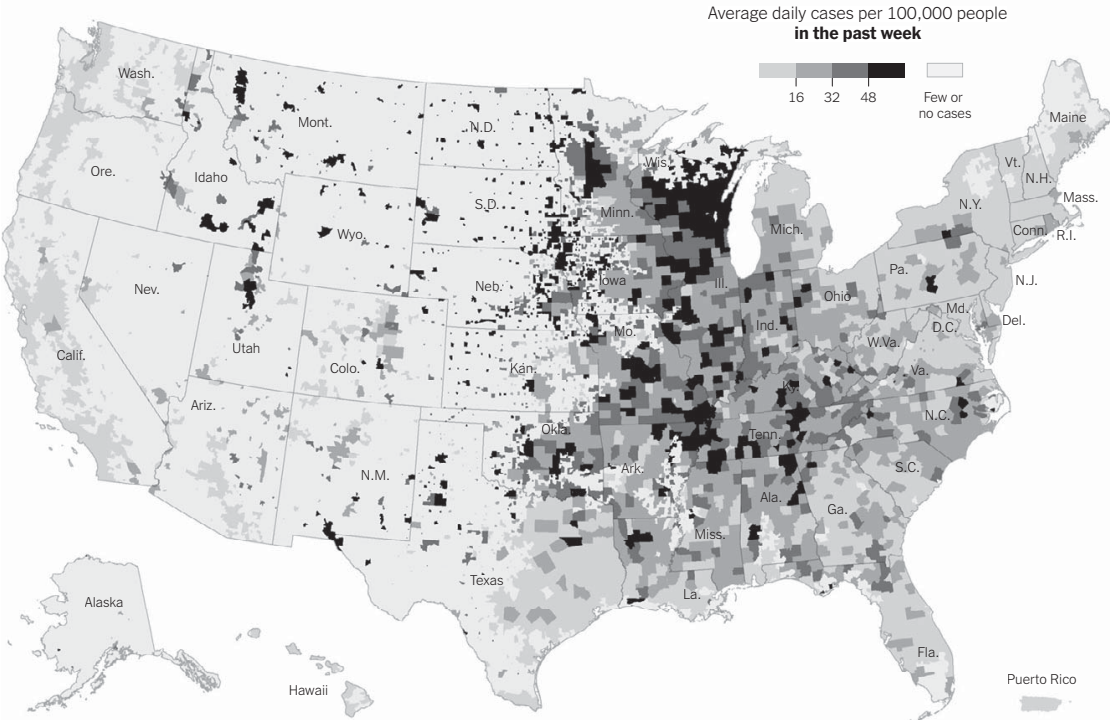
For nearly 70 years — ever since the New Zealand mountaineer Sir Edmund Hillary and his Sherpa guide, Tenzing Norgay, first scaled Everest — climbers have been drawn by the romance of adventure and the risks of ascending where oxygen levels descend. Nepal suspended trekking and mountaineering in March when the pandemic hit. After six months, the country opened the way to tourists aiming for the top.

Laxman Adhikari, a village chief in the Everest region, said that fewer than 100 foreign tourists had reached the Everest region in recent weeks. He said that when word of the coronavirus began to circulate, locals started denying accommodations to trekkers. Mr. Adhikari said that the authorities, worried that the virus had already spread, had collected swabs from 100 people in the area. Containing the virus has become a priority for Nepal, which has reported more than 17 percent of its 153,000-case total in just the past seven days.

Coronavirus Update wraps up the day’s developments with information from across the virus report.

Hot Spots in the United States

As of Friday evening, more than **8,513,400** people across every state, plus Washington, D.C., and four U.S. territories, have tested positive for the coronavirus, according to a New York Times database. More than **223,700** people with the virus have died in the United States.



Sources: State and local health agencies. The map shows the share of population with a new reported case over the last week. Parts of a county with a population density lower than 10 people per square mile are not shaded. Data for Rhode Island is shown at the state level because county level data is infrequently reported. Data is as of Oct. 23, 2020, at 5 p.m. Eastern.

EDUCATION

Schools Aren’t Driving Resurgence, Scientists Say

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

Months into the school year, school reopenings across the United States remain a patchwork of plans: in-person, remote and hybrid; masked and not; socially distanced and not. But amid this jumble, one clear pattern is emerging.

So far, schools do not seem to be stoking community transmission of the coronavirus, according to data emerging from random testing in the United States and Britain. Elementary schools especially seem to seed remarkably few infections.

The evidence is far from conclusive, and much of the research has been tarnished by flaws in data collection and analysis. School reopenings are very much a work in progress. Still, many experts are encouraged by the results to date.

“The more and more data that I see, the more comfortable I am that children are not, in fact, driving transmission, especially in school settings,” said Brooke Nichols, an infectious disease modeler at the Boston University School of Public Health.

That is not to say that younger children do not become infected — they do. On Wednesday, Dr. Michael Beach, a senior scientist at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, acknowledged that the agency’s guidance on school reopenings does not reflect the latest research showing that children can become infected with the coronavirus and transmit it to others.

“It does appear that children can become infected” and that children “clearly can transmit,” Dr. Beach, the agency’s deputy incident manager for Covid-19 response, told the House Select Subcommittee on the Coronavirus Crisis.

But the more pressing question for scientists and policymakers has been how often transmission from children happens. The bulk

of evidence now suggests only limited transmission from young children to adults.

The risk among older children in middle and high schools is less clear, but many experts believe that these schools may be able to contain the coronavirus, provided the community prevalence is low and the schools take abundant precautions.

Weighed against the substantial harms to children and parents from keeping schools closed, elementary schools should at least offer in-person learning, said Dr. David Rubin, a pediatrician and infectious disease expert at the University of Pennsylvania.

“I think there’s a pretty good

Transmission from the young to adults seems to be limited.

base of evidence now that schools can open safely in the presence of strong safety plans, and even at higher levels of case incidence than we had suspected,” he said.

Dr. Rubin and his colleagues have devised new guidelines for when to close and reopen schools as the virus continues to march through much of the United States. The decisions should depend not on absolute numbers — for example, 5 percent of tests turning up positive — but on the trend in case numbers, he said.

“If you’re really trying to keep kids in school, you have to do this in a much different way,” he said — with an expectation not of zero risk, but of risk managed by safety measures.

Rather than closing schools where community transmission is high, businesses like restaurants, bars or other indoor spaces where adults congregate should be shut-

tered, Dr. Rubin said.

Facing an immense second wave, some countries in Europe, like the Netherlands, have instituted restrictions on indoor dining, private gatherings and public transportation. “And they said none of this applies to schools, because education is too important,” Dr. Nichols said. “It’s just such a different priority.”

While a vast majority of studies suggest that children are not superspreaders, the data is far from perfect. Few schools are routinely testing students or staff and, even when they identify cases, it’s difficult to trace the infection’s origins. Random testing in schools can provide a glimpse of trends within a school or a city, but may miss early signs of a cluster.

Perhaps the biggest issue in studies of children has been a failure to consistently account for age. Many studies classify anyone under 18 as a child, said Helen Jenkins, an infectious disease expert at Boston University.

Still, transmission by young children to adults seems to be negligible as long as safety measures are in place. Several studies have suggested that children under 10 are mostly unaffected by the coronavirus and spread it to others less efficiently compared with older children and adults.

One study published in the journal Pediatrics surveyed more than 57,000 child care providers in the United States and found that they were no more likely to become infected with the virus than other adults in the community.

“Every study, unfortunately, has sort of different age cutoffs and brackets, which makes the data a bit more difficult to interpret,” Dr. Nichols said. “But certainly, I think grade five seems to be when it changes.”

As districts planned for reopenings, some schools were unable or unwilling to put in place precautions such as masks for students and teachers, physically dis-

tanced desks and improved ventilation.

New York City mandated precautions for its 1,800 schools, and the virus’s prevalence in the city has remained low since its deadly surge in the spring. Random testing of more than 16,000 staff members and students has turned up only 28 positives and no big outbreaks, apart from localized clusters in two communities.

But Britain and the Netherlands have kept schools open with few restrictions on class sizes or requirements for mask-wearing. Yet they, too, have shown limited transmission among younger children or from children to their parents, Dr. Nichols noted.

“We see a similar pattern in places where they’re doing nothing at schools, so I find that fascinating,” she said.

The trends for older children are much harder to discern. But over all, they suggest a greater chance for infections to spread without careful measures in place.

Sweden, often cited as a model for having schools operate throughout the pandemic, kept schools open for children under 16, but with small class sizes and physical distancing. According to one recent study, opening elementary schools had limited impact on parents, but teachers in schools with older children had double the rate of infections compared with those who taught remotely.

In Israel, crowded high school classrooms seeded outbreaks, prompting the health ministry to release a report this week calling children superspreaders. And in the United States, some high school reopenings have been disastrous, like those of a Georgia school shamed for unmasked students in its halls and a high school in Utah where infections flared to 90 cases within two weeks.

A significant proportion of cases seem to come from activities outside school, Dr. Rubin said. “Most of the transmission, when we see it, is occurring in car pools, during travel leagues, maybe in a locker room, or parties and gatherings that people have on the weekend,” he said.

The data from Britain suggests, however, that clusters even among older children may not always lead to infections at home. Random testing in schools there showed sharp increases in infections among children older than 11, but the spikes did not seem to translate to a rise in adult cases.

“I find this fascinating and something that we need to understand more,” Dr. Nichols said.

Despite the gathering research, Boston on Wednesday decided to close schools even as restaurants, casinos and gyms remain open. Dr. Jenkins, who has two children, said she was particularly frustrated by the news.

“Children are not being prioritized, and they’re missing out on all the positive things about going to school,” Dr. Jenkins said. “I don’t understand why we’re not as a community getting together and deciding that schools need to be a priority and making them as safe as we can.”



DAVID DEGNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Checking a student’s temperature on Oct. 8 at an elementary school in Smithfield, R.I. All students had to fill out a form about symptoms and have their temperature taken at the start of the day.

Tracking an Outbreak Public Health

THE FOLLOW-UP EFFORT

A Looming Worry About a Vaccine: Who Will Be in Charge of Safety?

From Page A1

tise for exactly this job, merging it into an office focused on infectious diseases. Its elimination has left that long-term safety effort for coronavirus vaccines fragmented among federal agencies, with no central leadership, experts say.

“We’re behind the eight ball,” said Daniel Salmon, who served as the director of vaccine safety in that office from 2007 to 2012, overseeing coordination during the H1N1 flu pandemic in 2009. “We don’t even know who’s in charge.”

An H.H.S. spokesperson said that the vaccine office was not shuttered. “The office was not ‘closed,’ but was merged with the Office of Infectious Disease and HIV/AIDS Policy and was strengthened,” the spokesperson said in a statement. “All the functions continue in this new organizational structure.”

In a brief statement, a different spokesperson said that Operation Warp Speed was working closely with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention “to synchronize the IT systems” involved in monitoring vaccine safety data.

Scientists at the C.D.C. and the Food and Drug Administration have decades of experience tracking the long-term safety of vaccines. They’ve created powerful computer programs that can analyze large databases.

“It’s like satellites looking at the weather,” said Dr. Bruce Gellin, the president of the Sabin Vaccine Institute, who headed the National Vaccine Program Office from 2002 to 2017.

But monitoring hundreds of millions of Americans who may get different coronavirus vaccines from a variety of drug makers by summer is like tracking a major storm beyond anything researchers have dealt with before.

The closest parallel was in spring 2009, when a new strain of H1N1 influenza emerged and researchers raced to make a vaccine. From October 2009 to January 2010, it was administered to more than 82 million people in the United States.

As the vaccine was developed, Dr. Gellin and other federal officials and scientists organized a system to monitor the population for severe side effects and to promptly share results with the public. Eleven years later, it looks like the lessons of 2009 are being forgotten, experts say.

“We got all these different agencies together, we created governance around it, we created a regular monitoring plan, as well as a public communication plan,” said Dr. Jesse Goodman, the F.D.A.’s chief scientist during the H1N1 pandemic. “I think that something very much like that is even more needed now. And, you know, we haven’t yet seen that emerge.”

In the 1970s, the U.S. government set up large-scale programs to monitor vaccine safety. There was a system for parents to report symptoms their children experienced after receiving a vaccine. It may get 50,000 reports from parents, doctors, hospitals and vaccine makers in a typical year. But the tool has limits: People may not report symptoms that should be investigated, or may see a connection to a vaccination where none exists.

“People are vaccinated one day, and the next day they have some bad medical event, and then they scratch their head and say, ‘Well, you know, I was fine until this hap-



VINCENTO PINTO/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

While efforts to develop and package a coronavirus vaccine are vast, the U.S. government’s plans to monitor effects are fragmented.

pened,” Dr. Gellin said.

In 1990, the C.D.C. set up a new way to track vaccines that did not depend on people coming forward. The agency worked with health care organizations to get updates on people’s medical conditions. That system now covers 12 million people. Researchers can use it to look for clusters of symptoms that arise in people who receive the same vaccine.

When the H1N1 flu hit in 2009, Dr. Salmon recognized that these methods did not track enough people to quickly pick up rare symptoms. He reached out to researchers at Harvard to build a new system, which came to be known as PRISM. Ten states supplied vaccination records, and five health insurance companies shared anonymous information about 38 million members. PRISM then connected the two databases to track insurance claims in the wake of vaccination.

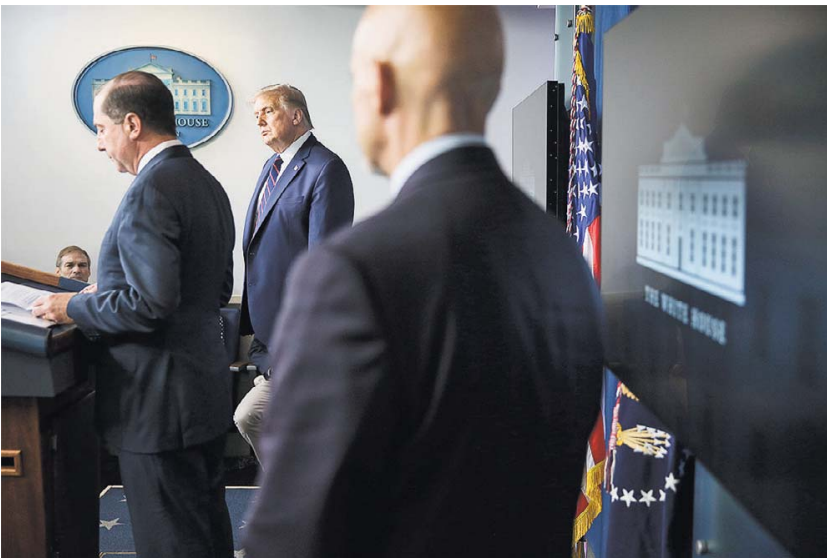
“That really gave us a ton of data,” Dr. Salmon said.

The researchers could come up with a background rate of a host of medical conditions. If the H1N1 vaccine was linked to cases that matched the background rate, they could dismiss the symptoms as ordinary. Only if they rose above the background rate would they be considered unusual and warrant a closer look.

Scientists from various federal agencies gathered every two weeks to share data and look for worrying clusters of symptoms. Every month, outside experts reviewed the evidence and released public reports.

“Vaccine programs are contingent on trust,” Dr. Gellin said, “and transparency is a huge element of that.”

The vast majority of reports turned out to have nothing to do with the new vaccines. Just a handful of medical conditions required an intensive review. The researchers noticed that some vaccinated people developed a facial weakness called Bell’s palsy, for example, but within two weeks



OLIVER CONTRERAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Alex M. Azar II, left, head of health and human services. His department merged the National Vaccine Program Office, whose mission was tracking safety, with an office for infectious diseases.

they ruled out vaccines as the cause.

In the succeeding years, as emerging viruses caused outbreaks of Ebola, MERS and other diseases, experts called for more preparations for the next pandemic. In 2016, President Barack Obama set up a global health security office at the National Security Council. But in 2018, the Trump administration disbanded that office, saying it was streamlining bureaucratic bloat.

The next year, the National Vaccine Program Office met a similar fate. Alex M. Azar II, the secretary of health and human services, said in a letter to Senator Patty Murray, the ranking member of a health subcommittee, that the merger, as part of a broader department reorganization, would “increase operational efficiencies by eliminating program redundancies and decreasing program

costs.”

The offices were merged “after a study by career staff who recommended to the Assistant Secretary for Health that this was the best way to improve the function of both offices by creating synergies and eliminating stovepipes,” said Admiral Brett Giroir, assistant secretary for health, in a brief statement. “I wholeheartedly concurred with this recommendation because strengthening vaccine effectiveness and confidence and ending the H.I.V. epidemic are two of my most critical priorities. Anyone who is suggesting that we closed this office has no clue what they’re talking about.”

But Dr. Nicole Lurie, who was assistant secretary for preparedness and response at H.H.S. during the 2009 pandemic, said the loss of the vaccine safety office was especially costly once the coronavirus pandemic hit.

“The coordinated leadership for stuff like this would likely come from the National Vaccine Program Office,” she said.

Dr. Lurie, now an adviser at the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovation, has been waiting with other researchers, month after month, for coordinated leadership to emerge from the federal government on long-term vaccine safety.

“There are a whole bunch of people who were really concerned about this,” she said.

An F.D.A. official who declined to be identified said that in the absence of the National Vaccine Program Office, F.D.A. and C.D.C. staff members were relying on relationships they had built across the agencies, meeting regularly to discuss their separate projects.

That leaderless effort concerns Dr. Lurie. “There’s no sort of active coordination to bring all the

information together,” she said.

On Thursday, an expert from the C.D.C. and another from the F.D.A. gave presentations about monitoring systems at a meeting of the F.D.A.’s vaccine advisory committee. One system will use smartphone apps to stay in touch with health and other essential workers after their vaccinations. Another will look at a database of electronic health records and insurance claims, and yet another will use Centers for Medicare & Medicaid data to track people older than 65.

Although each system may reveal important clues, they have limits that worry outside experts. Dr. Steven Black, a director of the Global Vaccine Data Network, observed that the Medicare system registers billing information only, resulting in a time lag.

“The patient has to get into the hospital, leave the hospital, and a bill needs to be sent,” he said.

The other systems can provide safety information much faster, but they’re small compared with the PRISM system, which now covers about 60 million people. The F.D.A. still uses PRISM for drug safety research, but not for vaccines. Dr. Salmon is baffled that the agency has not tapped into it again. “Why would you not use that?” he asked. (An agency spokeswoman said it might use PRISM in the future should the need arise.)

The F.D.A. official said the agencies were still building lists of symptoms they plan to track closely. The C.D.C.’s list includes conditions like strokes and seizures. But it is also including entirely new conditions the coronavirus causes, like Multisystem Inflammatory Syndrome, which affects many organs at once.

The agencies are searching the scientific literature to estimate the background rates of these outcomes. But Dr. Salmon warned that lockdowns and other disruptions had made some conditions more common and others less so. Comparing the health of vaccinated people to that of people from before the pandemic may set off false alarms.

Dr. Salmon and other researchers are concerned that no overarching plan for communicating findings to the public has emerged. The F.D.A. official said the agency would post its updates on its website. A C.D.C. committee will get safety data from the agencies and discuss the results at public meetings.

But that may fall short of what’s needed to foster public confidence. A poll conducted earlier this month by Stat and The Harris Poll found that 58 percent of Americans said they would get vaccinated as soon as a vaccine was available, down from 69 percent in August.

The explosion of disinformation on social media will make clear communication vital. “I think that preparing for Russian disinformation campaigns should be part of preparing for the rollout of a Covid vaccine,” said Steven Wilson, a political scientist at Brandeis University.

Dr. Grace Lee, a professor at the Stanford University School of Medicine and a member of the C.D.C. committee, agreed that such preparations were urgent, but said they were beyond the committee’s scope: “A national communication strategy and plan is much needed.”

PROTECTION AT THE POLLS

C.D.C. Updates Advice for Voting Safely

By DENISE GRADY

Early voting has already generated long, long lines in many states, and with the November election just 11 days away, many states and cities have imposed safety measures to protect voters and poll workers from exposure to the coronavirus.

But polling places still have the potential to become “mass gathering events,” the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention warned in an advisory released on Friday, adding that measures to prevent the spread of Covid-19 could be improved.

The C.D.C. based its latest advice on a survey from the experiences of 522 poll workers in Delaware’s statewide primary in September. Guidelines issued by the agency in June recommended various ways to minimize crowds at polling locations, including absentee voting and extended voting hours.

To cut down on disease transmission, the C.D.C. also recommended putting up physical barriers between voting machines; spacing the machines apart from one another; indicating 6-foot distances with signs or floor markings for those waiting in line to vote; designating separate entrances and exits; the use of pro-

A couple of the basics: wear a mask and take your own pen.

ective gear — masks, face shields, gloves and gowns — for poll workers assisting sick voters; and allowing curbside voting for people who are ill.

“Ensuring that ill voters can vote while maintaining poll worker and voter safety will be essential to minimizing transmission without restricting voting rights,” the report said.

But in Alabama, where curbside voting had been allowed, the state’s attorney general ordered that it be stopped, and on Wednesday, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the ban.

The new survey of Delaware poll workers did not provide information about whether any cases of Covid were linked to the voting centers. The questions involved only the workers’ observations about the conditions and practices at 99 of the state’s polling places.

The Delaware survey found that most workers and voters wore masks, but did not always

use them properly to cover both the mouth and nose. Voters were less careful than poll workers. About 73 percent of the respondents said they very rarely or never saw other poll workers wearing masks the wrong way. But only 54 percent of the workers surveyed said that they rarely or never saw sloppy mask use by voters.

Noting that “a substantial proportion” of the poll workers saw incorrect mask use by voters, the report said, “further messaging on proper mask use, including at polling locations, might be needed to strengthen the effectiveness of masks during upcoming elections.”

The C.D.C. suggested that providing masks for voters “might support adoption of personal prevention practices.” Poll workers were also more likely than voters to use hand sanitizer.

Nineteen of the 522 workers in the survey had contact with a voter who was ill, with or without a known Covid diagnosis, the report said. Fifteen of the 19 said they wore masks during that contact, but none wore other protective gear recommended by the C.D.C. for such encounters: face shield, gown, gloves. The survey suggested that the workers had “limited training” in use of the gear.



EVE EDELHEIT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lining up to cast early ballots in St. Petersburg, Fla., this week. Polling places across the nation have the potential to become “mass gathering events,” the C.D.C. warns in a new safety advisory.

Poll workers in general face multiple risks: Many are older, with health problems that make them especially vulnerable to severe illness if they contract Covid. And they come into close contact with many people on election days, often closer than the 6-foot “social distance” recommended to

minimize virus transmission.

Recruiting younger poll workers might reduce the proportion of workers at risk for severe cases of Covid, the report said.

In the meantime, the C.D.C. offered up a list of ways to help minimize the risk for voters: go at off-peak times, like midmorning;

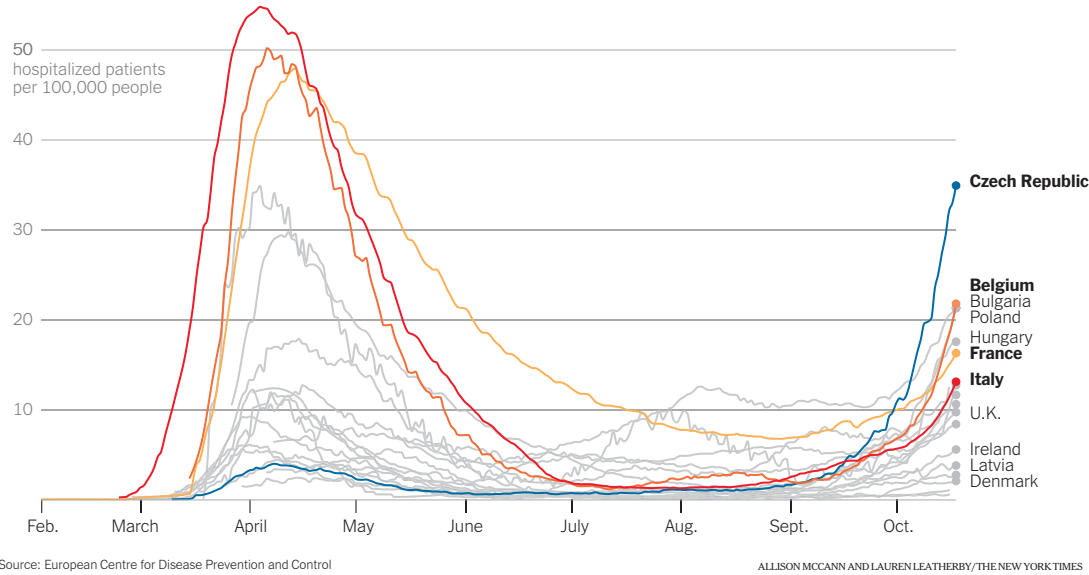
monitor the voter line from your car and join when the line is short; fill out any needed registration forms ahead of time and review a sample ballot at home to cut down on time spent at the polling location; and take your own black ink pen, or stylus to use on touchscreen voting machines.

Tracking an Outbreak

The Numbers

A Spike in Covid-19 Patients

The next few weeks will be crucial in preventing hospitals from becoming overrun after the number of Covid-19 patients has shot up.



SECOND WAVE

Hospitals in Europe Are Starting to Fill Up Again

By ALLISON MCCANN and LAUREN LEATHERBY

LONDON — Poland has turned its largest stadium into an emergency field hospital. The numbers of Covid-19 patients in Belgium and Britain have doubled in two weeks. And doctors and nurses in the Czech Republic are falling ill at an alarming rate.

As new cases of the virus began to increase again across Europe last month, hospitals were initially spared the mass influx of patients they weathered earlier this spring. Some suggested that the virus had become less deadly, or that older, more vulnerable people would be shielded.

But a second wave of serious illness is here, new data released on Thursday shows, making it clear that the pandemic is still dangerous and that adherence to control measures over the next few weeks will be crucial in preventing hospitals from becoming overrun for a second time this year.

The number of Covid-19 patients in hospitals across the continent is still less than half of the peak in March and April, but it is rising steadily each week, according to data from the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control. People across much of Europe — including larger countries like France, Italy, Poland and Spain — are now more likely to be hospitalized with Covid-19 than those in the United States.

Bruno Ciancio, the head of disease surveillance at the center, said he was concerned that some of the worst-hit countries now — including the Czech Republic, Poland and Bulgaria — were not as affected this spring, and may not have expanded their hospital capacity or intensive care units.

“The signals were all there in September,” said Mr. Ciancio. “At this point it’s very important that all member states prepare their hospitals to deal with the increase

Additional reporting by Tolek Magdziarz from Warsaw, Constant Méheut from Paris and Raphael Minder from Madrid.

Europe’s Hospitals Compared With the Spring

Eight countries have surpassed their peak levels of Covid-19 patients

	Patients in hospital per 100,000	Spring peak	% of spring peak
Czech Republic	35	4	882%
Spain	29	NA	NA
Belgium	22	50	43%
Bulgaria	21	6	381%
Poland	21	9	230%
Hungary	18	7	249%
France	16	48	34%
21 European countries	14	31	45%
Italy	13	55	24%
Slovenia	13	6	226%
Croatia	12	9	136%
Slovakia	12	4	285%
United States	11	18	61%
Portugal	11	13	83%
United Kingdom	10	30	33%
Austria	8	12	68%
Ireland	6	18	31%
Luxembourg	5	35	15%
Latvia	4	2	163%
Estonia	3	12	23%
Denmark	2	9	23%
Finland	1	4	23%
Norway	1	6	10%
Iceland	0.3	12	2%

Source: European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (Europe), The Covid Tracking Project (United States). Hospital data for Europe includes most recent figures for 21 countries that report daily hospital occupancy data to the E.C.D.C. Spring peak is the highest value from March and April, except in Hungary, which started data collection in May.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

in demand that is coming.”

Hospitalization rates are a key measure of the pandemic’s severity. The rates rise and fall days or weeks behind the tallies of new infections. But infection figures depend heavily on each country’s testing capacity, while seriously ill people tend to enter hospitals whether they have been tested for the virus or not.

Europe’s current wave of infection is due in part to the relative normalcy it experienced this summer.

Unlike the United States, where the epidemic rose to a second peak in July and a third peak this month, travelers moved around Europe, college students returned to campus and many large gatherings resumed, all while the virus kept spreading.

Now hospitals are scrambling to prepare for an onrush of Covid-19 patients, at a time when bed and intensive care capacity will already be under strain during the winter flu season.

In Poland, the government converted the country’s largest stadium into a temporary field hospital with room for 500 patients. Hospitals in France, especially in the Paris area, have started to postpone non-emergency surgeries, while others have called back staff on leave. More than one-fifth of Spain’s intensive care beds are occupied by Covid-19 patients, and in Madrid, that figure is closer to 40 percent.

And in the Czech Republic — where the current hospitalization rate surpasses the worst period in Britain — physicians are worried about a shortage of staff. “In some regions, about 10 percent of the medical staff is either already infected or in quarantine,” said Petr Smejkal, the chief of infectious diseases and epidemiology at the Institute of Clinical and Experimental Medicine in Prague.

Mr. Smejkal said the country also lacks specialty workers like respiratory therapists, and that most nurses are not trained to operate ventilators. “I am most worried about personnel, and keeping a safe ratio of doctors to patients and nurses to patients,” he added.

There is hope that no place will experience the level of death that Bergamo, Italy, New York City and Madrid suffered this spring. How the virus spreads is better understood now, and treatments have improved, giving sick people a better chance of survival. Testing has expanded across Europe, allowing countries to identify outbreaks earlier, when they are easier to contain.

But it is unclear how successful those control measures will be, or if political resistance and collective exhaustion over new restrictions will make it harder to get the virus under control for a second time.

Deaths in most of Europe remain at a fraction of the levels seen in the spring. But they have ticked slowly upwards over the last several weeks, and they tend to lag hospitalizations by about a month. Experts say additional increases in deaths are likely over the next couple of weeks.

THE DRUGMAKERS

2 Vaccine Trials Resume After Pauses Over Safety

Illnesses of Volunteers Deemed Unrelated

This article is by Katherine J. Wu, Carl Zimmer, Sharon LaFraniere and Noah Weiland.

Late-stage coronavirus vaccine trials run by AstraZeneca and Johnson & Johnson have resumed in the United States after the companies said on Friday that serious illnesses in a few volunteers appeared not to be related to the vaccines.

Federal health regulators gave AstraZeneca the green light after a six-week pause, concluding there was no evidence that the experimental vaccine had directly caused the neurological side effects reported in two participants. The AstraZeneca news was first reported by The Wall Street Journal.

Johnson & Johnson said that its trial, which had been on pause for 11 days, would restart after learning that a “serious medical event” in one study volunteer had “no clear cause.” In an interview, the company’s chief scientific officer, Dr. Paul Stoffels, said that no one at the company knew if the volunteer had received the placebo or the vaccine, in order to preserve the integrity of the trial.

An F.D.A. spokesperson declined to comment on the trial restarts.

Dr. Luciana Borio, a former acting chief scientist at the Food and Drug Administration, welcomed the announcements, citing the urgent need for multiple vaccines to remain in the race for a product that could protect the global population from the coronavirus, which has already killed more than a million people worldwide.

“The demand for safe and effective Covid vaccines exceeds any single manufacturer’s production capacity,” Dr. Borio said. “We really need several in the field.”

AstraZeneca and Johnson & Johnson are two of the four companies now in late-stage clinical trials in the United States for experimental coronavirus vaccines. Both companies are using adenoviruses, which typically cause harmless colds. The adenovirus is engineered so that it can chauffeur a coronavirus gene into human cells.

Their two high-profile competitors, Moderna and Pfizer — also in advanced trials — are instead using a technology based on genetic material known as mRNA. Delivered into human cells, the mRNA prompts the production of coronavirus proteins, triggering an immune response.

AstraZeneca moved swiftly into clinical trials, enrolling thousands of volunteers around the world in countries including Brazil, India, South Africa and Britain. A large, late-stage trial kicked off in the United States at the end of August. But all of the trials were halted days later, on Sept. 6. A volunteer who had received the vaccine in the United Kingdom reportedly experienced symptoms of transverse myelitis, or inflammation of the spinal cord, triggering a global pause to the company’s efforts.

The incident drew some concern among experts, who noted that a similar adverse neurolog-

ical event, reported months ago, had occurred in another vaccinated volunteer. Although this earlier event prompted its own pause in AstraZeneca’s trials, an independent safety board ultimately determined it was unrelated to the vaccine, allowing studies to resume.

After the second AstraZeneca halt in September, trials abroad rapidly restarted in most countries. But the American hiatus persisted, with few details released as to why.

According to two vaccine experts familiar with the situation, the F.D.A. did not directly tie the vaccine to the two neurological illnesses, although it couldn’t be ruled out. The agency has advised the company to alert study volunteers about related symptoms like weakness and numbness that might point to a milder case of transverse myelitis, the experts said.

Johnson & Johnson started its Phase 3 trial on 60,000 volunteers in September. On Oct. 12, the company announced its own trial pause, citing concerns that an illness had happened in one of its volunteers as well. The company

Johnson & Johnson and AstraZeneca get a green light.

has kept mostly quiet about the details of the incident.

“There are many possible factors that could have caused the event,” the company said. “Based on the information gathered to date and the input of independent experts, the company has found no evidence that the vaccine candidate caused the event.”

Adverse events are not uncommon in large-scale vaccine trials. In some cases, they are caused by a vaccine. But investigations usually reveal that they’re coincidental — a simple matter of chance.

Now that the trials are resuming, Dr. Borio said, changes may need to be made “to augment safety measures,” at least in the case of AstraZeneca, which, for instance, will likely need to monitor its volunteers for milder neurological symptoms, now that there’s precedent.

Based on recent events, “it seems there was no safety concern” with the two neurological episodes, said Dr. Maricar Malinis, an infectious disease expert at Yale University. The trial’s restart, she emphasized, should be considered good news and an indication that regulators did their due diligence.

Before the pauses, both companies had indicated they would likely submit their vaccines for emergency authorization from the F.D.A. within a few months’ time — perhaps even by the year’s end. It remains unclear how much these plans have now been thrown into flux in the wake of trial delays.

THE HUMAN TOLL

Cost of Ignoring Advice on Wearing Masks? Perhaps 130,000 Lives, Scientists Say

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

Universal mask use could prevent nearly 130,000 deaths from Covid-19, the illness caused by the coronavirus, in the United States through next spring, scientists reported on Friday.

The findings follow an assertion by Dr. Scott W. Atlas, the president’s science adviser, that masks are ineffective, in a tweet later taken down by Twitter for spreading misinformation. On Wednesday, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention released new guidance recommending mask use in public settings, including public transportation.

A surge of infections, driven in part by neglect of safety precautions, has begun to overwhelm hospitals in much of the nation. More than 75,000 new cases were reported in the United States on Thursday, the second-highest daily total nationwide since the pandemic began. Eight states set single-day case records.

These numbers are likely to continue through the fall and winter, with a steady rise in cases and deaths until January and staying high after that point, said Christopher Murray, director of the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation at the University of Washington and lead author of the report.

“We strongly believe we are

heading into a pretty grim winter season,” Dr. Murray said.

The new study, published in the journal Nature Medicine, also offered a rough estimate of the pandemic’s toll in the United States: perhaps 500,000 deaths by March 2021, even with social distancing mandates reinstated in most states.

Other experts cautioned that, as with any model, the new estimates are based on many assumptions and should not be seen as predictions.

“It’s not a prediction or forecast, because we can will this number out of existence,” said Shweta Bansal, an infectious disease modeler at Georgetown University who was not involved in the new work.

Instead, she said, the model should be seen as a “sophisticated thought experiment” whose conclusions can significantly change if people alter their behavior.

“I’d like for people to see this study as a call to action, sort of a wake-up call, especially for those individuals who are unconvinced by the devastation that this pandemic is causing,” she said.

Epidemiological models that try to predict trends far into the future, as the new one does, are particularly prone to flaws “given how dynamic the situation is, and how quickly things can change,” added Ashleigh Tuite, an infec-

tious disease modeler at the University of Toronto.

Still, she and others said, the numbers seem reasonable as a rough estimate of the toll by March 2021 if current trends continue.

Dr. Murray and his colleagues analyzed the number of cases, testing rates, mask use and cellphone data to estimate people’s movements from the first recorded case in each state through Sept. 21. They then estimated the death toll until March 2021 for each state, with or without mandates for social distancing and mask use.

If many states continue to roll back the mandates in place, the team found, the number of deaths by Feb. 28 could top one million, with one-third occurring in California, Florida and Pennsylvania. More plausibly, states might reinstate distancing mandates when daily deaths reach a threshold of eight deaths per million. That would result in 511,373 deaths by the end of February 2021, according to the model.

Other models don’t look as far into the future or haven’t taken seasonality into account, and have underestimated the number of deaths that could result, Dr. Murray said.

Such models “feed the not very science-based views that are circulating out there that the epi-



BRENDAN MCDERMID/REUTERS

Passing out masks in Elmhurst, Queens, in May. Neglect of safety measures has helped drive a surge of infections nationally.

demic is over, or the worst is behind us,” he said. “And that’s a pretty risky strategy.”

But Dr. Tuite said she was unsure whether even accounting for seasonality, deaths would peak in the spring, as the model estimates. Dr. Murray’s model does not take into account the treatments available now for people who are hospitalized, she added.

For example, deaths among hospitalized patients have dropped to 7.6 percent from 25.6 percent in the spring, according to one study.

The new research rests on other flawed assumptions, Dr. Bansal said. The model offers estimates for individual states but does not account for age- or location-based variations within states, and the figures are based on limited testing and death data from the early part of the pandemic.

Because of these and other assumptions, the estimated number of deaths is at best an approximation. Still, the figure underscores the need for individual and population-wide precautions.

Dr. Murray and his colleagues

showed that mask use, in particular, has a considerable impact, cutting down the risk of infection at both an individual and population level by about half.

As of Sept. 20, just under half of Americans reported that they always wear a mask. But regular mask use by 95 percent of the population would save 129,574 lives, according to the new analysis. Regular mask use by just 85 percent of Americans could prevent 95,814 deaths by March 2021, possibly forestalling restrictive lockdowns, Dr. Murray said.

“Increasing mask use is one of the best strategies that we have right now to delay the imposition of social distancing mandates and all the economic effects of that, and save lives,” he said.

Masks are an effective and inexpensive tool to stem the spread of the virus and yet have unfortunately become politicized, like much else in the pandemic, said Dr. Carlos del Rio, an infectious disease expert at Emory University in Atlanta.

“If you wear a mask, you’re a Democrat,” he said. “If you don’t wear a mask, you are a Republican. And I think that’s what’s totally wrong.”

“The fact that we continue making masks such a political issue is really upsetting,” he added, “because quite frankly, I don’t want to see people die.”

News Track The Resurgence

Around
The World

NEPAL

80-Year-Old's Infection
Closes Access to Everest

The Nepali government has temporarily suspended trekking and access to Mount Everest, the world's highest mountain, and other mountains in Solukhumbu District after an 80-year-old local man tested positive for the coronavirus.

"Trekking and mountaineering in Everest region have been suspended for now to prevent the spread of virus," Laxman Adhikari, a village chief of the Everest region, said in a telephone interview. "We cannot say how long it will be suspended." The infected man is a politician from Namche Bazaar, a town in the Solukhumbu District.

For decades tourists and adventurers from around the world have been visiting Everest — even at the relatively low base camp — to fulfill an intensely personal, and expensive, quest to test extremes. In March, Nepal suspended trekking and mountaineering when the pandemic hit. After six months the country started welcoming back foreign and domestic tourists willing to climb Mount Everest, a significant source of revenue for Nepal.

Mr. Adhikari said that locals had started denying accommodation to trekkers and that the authorities had collected swabs from 100 people in the area, fearing the virus had already spread. Flights to the area have also been suspended.

Mr. Adhikari said fewer than 100 foreign tourists, including a 19-member team from Bahrain, had reached the Everest region in recent weeks.

POLAND

Restrictions Leave Nation
Near a Total Lockdown

Poland, which has reported 64,783 cases of the coronavirus in the past seven days, will enact a number of new restrictions starting on Saturday, Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki announced at a news conference on Friday.

The country reported 13,632 new cases on Friday. The country has recorded 214,686 cases of the virus and more than 4,000 deaths. Thirty percent of the total cases have come in the past week.

Poland, which the prime minister designated as a "red zone" on Friday, largely avoided the first wave of the pandemic by imposing an early lockdown in March.

As of Saturday, all cafes, bars and restaurants will be closed — except for carry out — and remote teaching will become a norm for older children in primary schools, as well as in high schools and at universities. Residents are required to use face coverings outside their homes.

Young people up to 16 years old will not be allowed outside between 8 a.m. and 4 p.m. without the supervision of an adult, and socializing in groups of more than five will be forbidden. Additionally, gyms and swimming pools will close. The government also asked that people over 70 stay home.

"We are far away from the comfort zone," said Adam Niedzielski, the health minister, during the news conference.

TURKEY

Most of Country's Cases
Are in Financial Capital

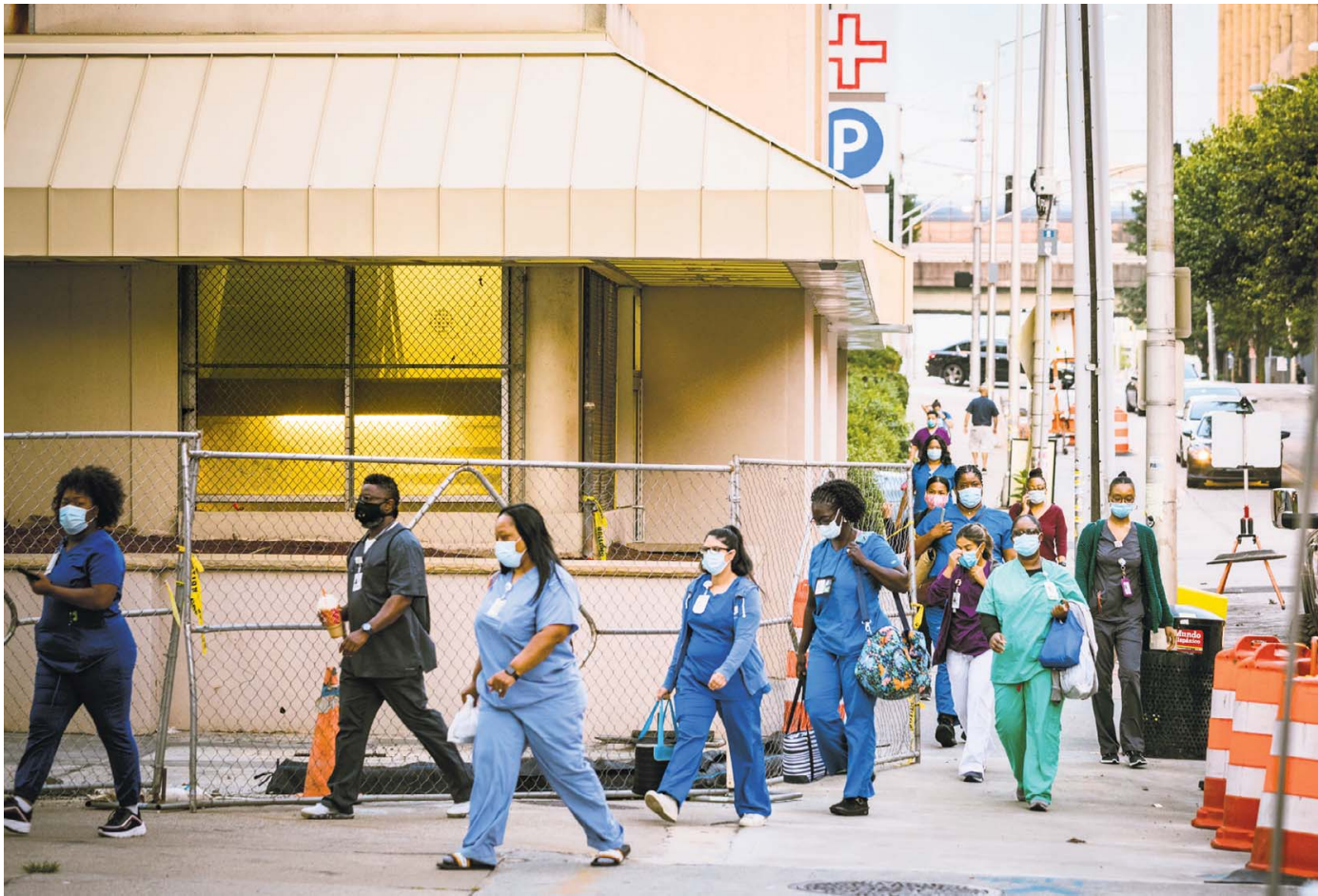
Istanbul, Turkey's capital of finance and culture and a global travel hub, now represents 40 percent of the country's total number of coronavirus cases, Health Minister Fahrettin Koca announced Friday.

Turkey has recorded at least 355,000 total cases and nearly 10,000 deaths, according to a New York Times database.

"The pandemic is re-escalating in the entire country," Mr. Koca said after urging residents of Istanbul to avoid crowds.

On Thursday, Turkey recorded 2,102 daily cases and 71 deaths, according to health ministry figures.

After ending its partial lockdown in June, Turkey made it compulsory nationwide last month to wear masks everywhere but at home. The authorities also instituted a system of staggered work hours in order to manage crowds of commuters in Istanbul, a city of 15.5 million.



AUDRA MELTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Health care workers arriving for a shift at Grady Memorial Hospital in Atlanta on July 16, the day that set the previous record for new U.S. cases — 75,687.

SEVERE SURGE

U.S. Reaches New Peak for Cases: Over 82,000 in a Single Day

From Page A1

Sun Belt.

Raymond Embry said the worst of it up close. His small Arizona medical clinic had been giving about five tests a day. That grew to dozens a day, and then came the surge on July 16, with 4,192 people lined up for tests.

That day, arguably the worst of the pandemic in the United States to that point, set records nationwide. By the end of that 24-hour period, a staggering 75,687 new cases had been reported around the country, and Arizona led the nation in deaths per capita.

"It was just overwhelming trying to find gloves and masks, when especially back then people are telling you P.P.E. is widely available and that's just a lie," Mr. Embry said, referring to shortages of the personal protective equipment that health workers need to safely do testing.

On the Texas-Mexico border, mid-July was a nightmare. Johnny Salinas Jr., the owner of Salinas Funeral Home, was handling six to seven funerals a day, a number he would usually see over a week before the pandemic. Some included family members and relatives of employees.

Local health officials had said they had managed to control the

Mitch Smith, Amy Harmon and Sarah Mervosh contributed reporting.



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A rosary resting in the hand of a coronavirus patient who was on a ventilator on July 16 at Houston Methodist Hospital in Texas.

spread of the virus through the spring, until Texas lifted social distancing restrictions right before Memorial Day. Then the numbers skyrocketed. In July, Hidalgo County, where Mr. Salinas lives, had one of the highest per capita death rates in the state. It caught Mr. Salinas off guard.

"We didn't know what to expect," Mr. Salinas said. "We didn't know much about the virus. It was killing a lot of people then."

These days, he is stockpiling masks, gloves and hand sanitizer, sealing off every other pew in the chapels for social distancing and installing a plexiglass barrier to shield mourners from the dead.

"Right now we are back to normal numbers," Mr. Salinas said. "But I am nervous. People are relaxing a little bit too much. I believe a second wave will come and it will be scarier than the first one."

The virus had already become deeply politicized by the summer, and, in this respect, the headlines that were made on July 16 were not surprising.

That day, President Trump hosted an event on the South Lawn of the White House with pickup trucks as props, highlighting his efforts to roll back government regulations.

As Georgia was experiencing

what was then its worst week of the pandemic, Gov. Brian Kemp, a Republican, sued the mayor of Atlanta, a Democrat, over the city's mask mandate. Republican Party officials told delegates in a letter sent out that day that they were scaling back plans for the convention in Florida, which at the time was reporting more than 10,000 new cases a day (the convention would eventually pull out of Florida altogether).

In July 16 news conferences, some Republican governors were insistently optimistic in places that were enduring their worst stretch of the pandemic, while some Democratic governors spoke with profound concern about the state of the outbreak, not knowing that the numbers in their states would get far worse.

"What we are seeing across the country is alarming," said Gov. Andy Beshear of Kentucky, a Democrat, at a news conference on July 16, a day when the state reported 469 new cases. On Tuesday, Kentucky reported 1,288 new confirmed infections, nearly three times as many as the day of the governor's speech.

But in some other parts of the country that day, the virus felt far away.

On July 16, towns in North Dakota were holding their annual summer festivals. People cheered the rodeos and danced together, maskless, in the streets.

Erin Ourada, the administrator

for Custer Health, a public health department west of Bismarck, watched it all with foreboding.

"I don't think the reality had hit the majority of North Dakota," Ms. Ourada said. It was hard to even think back to that summer period, she said this week, when "everyone was still just kind of living their lives and getting ready for the next street dance they were going to hit up."

As the nation reached a record on Friday, experts expressed worry about what the coming weeks might bring.

Testing has become more available in recent months, and administering more tests can often uncover cases that might otherwise go unnoticed. But experts said the uptick in cases now could not simply be explained as a result of more testing. Even as cases are rising, deaths have remained relatively flat at about 775 a day.

Yet in North Dakota this week, hospitals are striving to find available beds. The state now has the worst rate of infection in the country, relative to its population, and it is ending formal contact tracing except in health care settings, schools and colleges. Members of the National Guard are calling people to tell them they have tested positive.

This is what she saw coming when the case numbers began steadily growing at the end of July, said Ms. Ourada, "and we've been living in that ever since."

CAPITOL HILL

Optimism Fades for Breakthrough on a Stimulus Bill by Election Day

By EMILY COCHRANE

WASHINGTON — Optimism faded on Friday for a pre-election breakthrough on a stimulus measure to stabilize a shaky pandemic-era recovery, as negotiations between leading congressional Democrats and the White House limped past yet another self-imposed milestone with no deal and no resolution in sight.

In what has become something of a familiar pattern of high hopes followed by snail's-pace progress, Speaker Nancy Pelosi insisted that she was still optimistic about reaching a deal, even as a second consecutive day passed with no discussions between her and Steven Mnuchin, the Treasury secretary, who has been her negotiating counterpart. Instead, the two sides said it was up to the other to resolve the impasse.

President Trump, who has not spoken to Ms. Pelosi in more than a year but has recently decided that he must have a stimulus deal before he faces voters on Nov. 3, declared that she "would rather wait till after the election — she thinks it's a good point for the election."

Mr. Mnuchin, whom Mr. Trump has deputized to offer all manner of concessions to Ms. Pelosi, lamented that the speaker was "dug in."

"If she wants to compromise, there will be a deal," Mr. Mnuchin

said.

And Ms. Pelosi maintained she was hopeful, saying on MSNBC that "we will be able to resolve some of the objections."

"We could do that before the election, if the president wants to," she added.

Her comments hinted at the political calculation for Ms. Pelosi, who has consistently pressed for a more galeous bill as Republicans have balked at providing more aid, and she sees little political downside to continuing to press the White House for more concessions, no matter what the calendar says. They also underscored a grim political reality for Mr. Trump, who is watching the clock much more closely, knowing that he is likely to be judged by voters on the strength of the economy and his handling of the coronavirus pandemic.

With only six workdays remaining before Election Day, time has essentially run out for a stimulus deal to be enacted before the final day of balloting, with Ms. Pelosi previously telling reporters that text would need to be completed by the end of this week in order to become law by Nov. 3.

Any agreement would take days to be hashed out into legislative language, receive an official cost estimate, and be approved by the House. It would take at least another few days for such a deal to make it through the Senate, where major legislation needs 60 votes to advance and Republican leaders

have said they have no interest — and few if any votes — for the kind of compromise the White House and Ms. Pelosi are contemplating.

"It'd take a colossal get-together — just a huge get-together — to put a stimulus package together," said Senator Richard C. Shelby, Republican of Alabama and the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, who has spoken with both Mr. Mnuchin and

Both sides said it was up to the other to resolve their impasse.

Representative Nita M. Lowey, Democrat of New York and the chairwoman of the House Appropriations Committee. "I think it's a very doubtful, slim chance that we'll get any type of stimulus before the election."

Without action, tens of millions of Americans will go at least another month without supplemental federal unemployment benefits; small businesses, schools and hospitals will struggle to remain open during the pandemic; and the country's faltering economic recovery will continue to weaken.

Senators — who spent a rare Friday session in a procedural brawl over Republicans' rush to confirm Judge Amy Coney Bar-

rett, Mr. Trump's Supreme Court nominee — expect to leave Washington on Monday to join their House counterparts in a flurry of last-minute campaigning. It is unlikely, given the stark differences in both policy and price tag, that a deal between Ms. Pelosi and Mr. Mnuchin would spur Senate Republicans to reconvene the chamber for days of procedural votes when their majority hangs in the balance.

"A lot of my colleagues are turning toward sort of what will things look like after President Trump, and of course there's an election between here and there that we still have to focus on and win," Senator Chris Coons, Democrat of Delaware, told reporters. "Tensions and tempers are pretty high and pretty hot right now over this Barrett nomination, so we're having a hard time having any constructive conversations."

Both Ms. Pelosi and White House officials have insisted that there has been progress made in the talks, and Drew Hammill, her spokesman, said Friday evening that aides would continue to work through the weekend to put together a stimulus plan.

The two sides are still far apart on a Democratic demand for \$500 billion in aid for state and local governments, the size of lapsed federal unemployment benefits and a Republican push for liability protections. People familiar with efforts to negotiate outstanding issues said privately that little

progress had been made toward a deal Senate Republicans could support.

"We want this to be a bipartisan bill — the next bill to come to the floor, one that removes all doubt that it would become the law," Ms. Pelosi said on MSNBC. In a leadership meeting on Thursday, she disclosed that multiple Democrats had told her that they did not want to return to Washington to vote on relief legislation without guaranteed passage in the Senate, according to one person familiar with the discussion, who disclosed it on the condition of anonymity because it was private. The conversation was earlier reported by Politico.

With time waning before the election, it was increasingly likely that any agreement would drag into the lame-duck session, during the last remaining months before a new Congress convenes and when political incentives shift considerably, leaving uncertain the fate of any unfinished legislation.

"Once the dust settles and the smoke clears from the election, that will be a better posture for legislating," said Senator John Thune of South Dakota, the No. 2 Senate Republican, who said he could foresee an agreement being announced before Election Day, but waiting until after the balloting for a vote. "I'm hoping that then everybody can get out of their corners and actually try and get a solution."

International

The New York Times

THE SATURDAY PROFILE

As Pandemic Lingers, an Italian Rapper Must Share a Bit of Her Mystique



FABIO BUCCIARELLI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

‘Before, it was a distinguishing characteristic. Now, it’s something we all have in common.’

MYSS KETA, in black

By JASON HOROWITZ
MILAN

WHEN the pandemic first hit Italy and masks became scarce, Myss Keta, the mysterious Queen of the Milan Night, came to the rescue. The Italian rapper, performance artist and L.G.B.T.Q. icon had amassed a vast collection of face coverings that she wore for years to hide her identity. So she began distributing them to her friends in need.

“I had so many,” she said. “Surgical, cloth, vinyl, silk, whatever material.”

This month, with a second wave of the coronavirus rising and Italy requiring the wearing of masks in public at all times, grandparents, politicians, middle-management businesspeople, doctors, lawyers, delivery people — just about everyone — is covering up. That has rendered Myss Keta — whose use of masks took her from underground clubs to the cusp of national, if incognito, celebrity — an improbable authority on life behind the surgical veil.

It has also threatened to strip her of her defining shtick.

“Before, it was a distinguishing characteristic. Now, it’s something we all have in common,” she said as she lifted a black surgical mask — the casual black T-shirt of her vast collection — to sip a Bloody Mary at Bar Basso in her Porta Venezia stomping grounds of Milan. Under her trademark blond bangs, her eyes remained covered as usual in dark Givenchy sunglasses.

It used to be only the front-row fans at her concerts who emulated her by wearing masks. “Now, everyone seems like a Myss fan,” she said.

The Myss behind the mask remains a mystery. Gentle inquiries into her true identity yield only blatantly fictitious biographical details that she called

“Myssketiana mythology.”

“I’m always Myss Keta. I’m always myself, 100 percent,” said Keta, who later froze in her full-length faux leather trench coat when a friend accidentally let a first name slip. “Myss Keta is the diva of Porta Venezia. I’ll say it until they name parks after me.”

Myss Keta, a woman of uncertain age, is a John Waters dream of an Italian rap star. She first appeared in 2013, like a voluptuous Venus from a clubbing clamshell, with the release of the song “Milano, Sushi & Coca.”

The debut, rapped in her hypersexualized, cartoonishly sultry and gleefully trashy style, simultaneously venerated and mocked Milan’s nightlife. She and her arts collective, Motel Forlanini, decided that she should appear anonymous in the video to better become “the voice of a certain period, of a certain Milan scene,” she said.

The mask she wore at her first concert intrigued more people, and the crew decided that she should stick with the disguise. For nearly a decade, she has hidden her face with every mask imaginable — sequined, metallic, feathered. She has worn a digital clock over her eyes, a Yosemite Sam beard over her jowls.

In recent years, she has sought to branch out from her dance club roots to something approaching mainstream success. She sold out concerts, brought her campy, languorous rap verses to Germany, became a featured guest on Italian national radio and television shows and appeared on the cover of a national magazine for an article about Milan nightlife. She signed with Universal and discussed her book and identity and women’s empowerment with the director of Turin’s book fair, Italy’s largest. Last year, she collaborated with some of the country’s most recogniz-

able pop singers and rappers.

She said she felt carried on the crest of popularity leading to a breakout year. Instead, she ran mask first into a lockdown.

“It put the brakes on the Myss project,” she said.

In September, she released her first pandemic-era song and video, in which she dances wildly alone in an open field with a mask on. (“The most diligent of all,” she said.) But with masks omnipresent, she and her collaborators have begun to contemplate “a new trick, another way of keeping anonymity,” she said. She considered a motorcycle helmet, extreme makeup and “prosthetic modifications” as possibilities. The mask mandate, she said, “accelerated” the move forward.

BUT while she researches a new look, she remains one of Italy’s leading authorities on incessant mask wearing.

Pragmatically speaking, she said, surgical masks are best for talking. For performing, the singer of “Burqa di Gucci” prefers a “mèches burka.” She has learned that the mask can shift power balances to the wearer. She noticed that her fans who donned masks also felt freer and more themselves.

Dressing up for a wild night out, though, is different from breathing behind a particulate-filtering face piece for the foreseeable future. At least, she said, the early negative connotation of the mask — linked to sickness, hospitalization and hypochondriac anxiety — has transitioned to respect for others and a possible font of expression, bursting with colors, fabrics and name-brand cachet. She said she herself had pulled Myss Keta brand masks at the outset of the epidemic to avoid exploiting the

tragedy.

But as someone who hardly removed her mask outside her apartment for seven years, she also commiserated with an Italian populace entering a stuffy new reality.

“I know guys, it’s a pain. I get it — it’s not easy,” she said languidly. “You need to get used to it.”

The pandemic has also taken its toll on other prominent masked Italians. Only days before Italy began locking down towns, the popular Neapolitan artist Liberato, who for three years has hidden his identity, released a video for his song “We Come From Napoli.” In the video, Liberato and his masked friends are intended to look menacing as they stalk the Port of Naples playing cards, tagging walls and eating pork. But in the pandemic, it looks like any given Tuesday.

“Today, it’s strange to see those images,” said Francesco Lettieri, a close associate of Liberato’s who directed the video. “Because that’s all become very normal.”

Others see more of an upside.

Valerio Massimo Visintin, the restaurant critic for Italy’s largest newspaper, Il Corriere Della Sera, said he was sometimes jokingly referred to as “Myss Keta’s uncle,” because he has sought to preserve his anonymity for the last decade by dressing as “the man in black” during public appearances.

As he sat on a couch in his Milan agent’s office dressed like a cross between Darkman and an Irish Republican Army militant, he recommended that novice mask wearers practice increasing the volume, pausing between sentences and gesticulating more. In addition to a Donnie Brasco leather jacket and a black Stetson, he wore black gloves cut at the fingers, because his wife said that women rec-

ognized men’s hands.

He said that he had tried a Zorro mask but that it was too revealing, and said he couldn’t breathe through a Venetian carnival guise. He settled on a ski mask usually worn under a motorcycle helmet. He hasn’t taken a photo, not even a family one, in years and he said he uses taxis “like Superman did phone booths.”

His years of practice, he said, have made it easier for him to wear his FFP2 medical mask, which he donned under his disguise. It offers him “double protection,” he said, both in terms of health and of staying anonymous. “Now, the most they would recognize is a mask.”

MYSS KETA also said that the widespread mask wearing provided her with anonymity on the Milan streets where she used to be constantly accosted and which this week Thursday became subject to a no-nightlife curfew. This was especially the case in the summer, when so many others joined her in wearing sunglasses atop their masks. “It was everybody’s look,” she said.

After signing an autograph, she got up and walked past a sexagenarian using his blue mask as a pocket kerchief as he drank a spring break-sized Negroni Sbagliato cocktail. She gave a tour of the neighborhood, offering observations peppered with her Milanese slang (good things were “top” or “to-tal”; the best things were “morta,” or dead) and got noticed among the masked masses.

Teenagers looked at one another with shell shock. A table of Germans shouted out, “We love you, Myss Keta!”

For now, the mask has its appeal and she intends to keep wearing it.

Plus, she noted: “It’s the law. There’s no escaping it.”

After Years of Living in Exile, Snowden Is Granted Permanent Residency in Russia

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI
MOSCOW — Edward J. Snowden, the former American intelligence contractor whose 2013 leaks of top-secret documents set off a worldwide debate about government surveillance, is now a permanent resident of Russia.

Mr. Snowden, 37, has been living in exile in Moscow since 2013, when he fled to the Russian capital after giving journalists access to National Security Agency documents detailing the American intelligence service’s mass surveillance programs. On Thursday, the country’s immigration authorities granted Mr. Snowden permanent residency, his lawyer, Anatoly Kucherena, wrote on Facebook.

Mr. Kucherena posted a photograph of himself standing next to a smiling Mr. Snowden, in a dark red shirt and a black suit jacket, holding a blue, passport-style permanent residency document emblazoned with the Russian coat of arms.

“People ask me if Edward is planning on getting Russian citizenship,” Mr. Kucherena wrote. “For now, he has not told me this. He describes his end goal as being a return to the United States, but

only if he is guaranteed a fair trial.”

There was no comment from Mr. Snowden himself on his newfound permanent residency.

President Trump said in August that he would “take a very good look at” a pardon for the former intelligence contractor. Mr. Snowden told the German newspaper Die Zeit last month that he was encouraged by Mr. Trump’s comments, even if no pardon was imminent.

“It’s a continued normalization of the conversation about this,” Mr. Snowden said, referring to a possible pardon in the United States. “Realistically, I think we are still early in the phase of that.”

Changes last year to Russia’s immigration law that have made it easier for foreigners to get permanent residency cleared the path for Mr. Snowden to stay in the country for as long as he wanted. Several prominent Western supporters of President Vladimir V. Putin — including the American actor Steven Seagal and the French actor Gérard Depardieu — have already gone further and received Russian citizenship.

But Mr. Snowden is a special case. He



Edward Snowden

is both a living symbol of Mr. Putin’s relish in needling the United States and a hero to many who say he laid bare breathtaking abuse by American intelligence agencies of the power to monitor the online activity of people around the world.

In Moscow, Mr. Snowden has led both a mysterious and active lifestyle. He keeps his specific location and movements a secret, but chimes in on online privacy issues on his Twitter account. He published a memoir last year and, before the pandemic, often appeared at technology conferences via video link. He has married his American girlfriend, learned Russian and describes Moscow as a “beautiful city.”

In the United States, intelligence officials and politicians from both parties have said Mr. Snowden was working

with Russian intelligence agencies. Mr. Snowden has denied those accusations, and he has at times lobbied veiled criticism at Mr. Putin; after the poisoning of the Russian opposition leader Aleksei A. Navalny in August, Mr. Snowden on Twitter called it a possible “crime against the whole of Russia.”

“The sad reality is that even in the United States, targeted killings are happening frequently,” Mr. Snowden elaborated in the interview with Die Zeit. “It’s just the means that’s different.”

Mr. Snowden was referring to targeted killings of terrorism suspects around the world by American drones. Of Mr. Navalny’s case, Mr. Snowden said: “There needs to be an investigation, and anyone involved needs to go to jail.”

The pandemic delayed Mr. Snowden’s residency permit application, his lawyer said, and it appears to have made the exile’s life in Moscow even more cloistered than it already was. When Moscow was under lockdown in April and May, the city authorities required residents to obtain a digital permit for almost any trip outside. Mr. Snowden told Die Zeit he

never once sought such a permit because he disagreed with the government’s brute-force approach to keeping people inside their homes.

“The politics of the place are as troubled as ever but the people are fundamentally good people,” Mr. Snowden said of Russia. “As I would say in many countries, it is never the people you have to worry about, it’s always the government.”

Mr. Kucherena, Mr. Snowden’s Russian lawyer, is also chairman of the Public Chamber of the Russian Interior Ministry, which plays an advisory role with the country’s top law-enforcement body. On Thursday, alongside his note on Facebook announcing Mr. Snowden’s permanent residency, Mr. Kucherena posted a picture of a gift he had received from his client to commemorate the occasion.

It was a photograph of Mr. Snowden and Mr. Kucherena exiting the transit area of Moscow’s Sheremetyevo airport after Russia granted him asylum in August 2013. The photograph is captioned in Russian: “With thanks for the years of freedom.”

Sudan and Israel Pursue Economic Bond, Falling Short of Normalized Ties

This article is by **Lara Jakes, Declan Walsh and Adam Rasgon**.

WASHINGTON — President Trump announced on Friday that Israel and Sudan have opened economic ties as a pathway toward normalized relations, with Sudan becoming the third Arab state to formally set aside hostilities in recent weeks as the president looks to score a final foreign policy achievement ahead of the election.

The deal, however, appeared to stop short of establishing full diplomatic recognition between the two countries, as Israel recently has with the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain — despite Mr. Trump's description of it as a major agreement.

“HUGE win today for the United States and for peace in the world,” Mr. Trump wrote on Twitter.

Announcing the deal in the Oval Office — while on a conference call with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel and Sudan's civilian and military leaders, Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok and General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan — Mr. Trump did not respond when asked if the accord amounted to full diplomatic normalization between Sudan and Israel.

A joint statement from all three countries that was released by the White House made no mention of Sudan and Israel opening embassies in one another's capitals, and a senior Trump administration official said doing so has not been a part of the negotiations.

That ambiguity appeared to reflect the wider reluctance of Sudan, where public hostility to Israel runs deep. A senior Sudanese official said his government had bowed to months of American pressure over Israel, despite fears of a domestic backlash, in return for Sudan's removal from an American list of state sponsors of terrorism. Sudan has been on the list since 1993, accused of supporting groups like Hamas and Hezbollah.

Mr. Trump appeared to deliver his part of the bargain on Monday when he announced he was removing Sudan from the list. On Friday, he formalized the decision by sending it to Congress for final approval.

Lara Jakes reported from Washington, Declan Walsh from Nairobi, Kenya, and Adam Rasgon from Jerusalem. Michael Crowley contributed reporting from Washington, and David M. Halbfinger and Ronen Bergman from Jerusalem.



Secretary of State Mike Pompeo with General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan. The U.S. has pressed Sudan for months over Israeli relations.

The rapprochement will allow economic and trade relations between Israel and Sudan — a sprawling, economically struggling East African country that only last year emerged from decades of dictatorship — by focusing at first on agricultural products and financial assistance.

Mr. Netanyahu trumpeted Israel's new ties with Sudan as “another dramatic breakthrough for peace, another Arab country joining the peace circle.”

“What a tremendous turnaround,” Mr. Netanyahu said.

Israeli analysts, however, gave a more measured welcome. “It's not a game changer, but it's a step in the right direction,” said Brig. Gen. Assaf Orion, a veteran Israeli military strategist now at the Institute for National Security Studies in Tel Aviv.

In a tweet, Mr. Hamdok welcomed the American decision to take Sudan off the terrorism list, but made no mention of his country's move toward Israel.

The stakes of the deal are dramatically different for the two countries.

For Israel, the warming with Sudan is a largely symbolic achievement, partnering with an

impoverished Arab country that holds little sway across the Middle East.

But for Sudan's fragile transitional government, which came to power after the ouster last year of longtime dictator Omar Hassan al-Bashir, normalization with Israel constitutes a significant gamble.

Support for the Palestinians remains strong inside the country, and Sudanese officials have privately complained of being railroaded into a deal over Israel that was driven by American political interests, at a time when Sudan is struggling to get onto its feet.

The Palestinian Authority president, Mahmoud Abbas, blasted Sudan's move toward normalization, while another senior Palestinian official called it a “new stab in the back.”

Mr. Trump has had at least one eye firmly on the political benefits he might reap from brokering deals between Israel and its Arab adversaries, promoting them as a game-changing feat of diplomacy in the region. He also seeks to broker diplomatic recognition between Israel and additional Gulf States, including Saudi Arabia and Qatar, after the deals with

Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates.

In a joint statement on Friday, Mr. Netanyahu and Defense Minister Benny Gantz said they would not oppose the sale of “certain weapons systems” to the U.A.E., in an apparent reference to F-35 fighter jets, Reaper drones and electronic warfare planes. Mr. Netanyahu and Mr. Gantz said that they agreed not to oppose the sale of the weapons systems to the U.A.E. because the U.S. is “upgrading Israel's military capabilities and maintaining Israel's qualitative military edge.”

Though foreign policy issues rarely move votes in American presidential elections, Mr. Trump's campaign hopes to rally Jewish and evangelical Christian support by showing it can coax Arab nations to accept Israel.

“The Trump team is throwing whatever they can muster at the wall and hoping something sticks,” said Zach Vertin, a foreign policy fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington who, as a State Department policy adviser during the Obama administration, worked for the U.S. special envoy to Sudan.

However, Mr. Vertin said, “I'm

not convinced this gambit delivers Trump much of an electoral bump at this late juncture.”

Earlier this year, Mr. Hamdok repeatedly stated his reticence to recognize Israel. But Sudan's dire economic straits, with long lines for food and fuel snaking through the streets of the capital, Khartoum, forced his hand.

Worried that the growing economic crisis could destabilize or even collapse the government, and derail Sudan's transition to democracy, civilian officials dropped their opposition to ties with Israel in return for removal from the U.S. list of states sponsoring terrorism.

That process, which formally started on Friday, paves the way for Sudan to receive international debt relief, financial aid and a raft of other measures.

That could include donations of wheat and promises of hundreds of millions of dollars in investment that Trump administration officials have promised Sudan in recent weeks, the Sudanese official said.

Unless Congress objects — and U.S. officials said that was not expected — Sudan will be taken off the terrorism list in December.



RONALD WITTEK/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

An E.U. council proposal would protect 30 percent of the continent's land and water by 2030.

E.U. to Study Nature Conservation Plan

By **SOMINI SENGUPTA**

The European Union's Environment Council on Friday endorsed the proposal by the president of the European Union to create protected areas for 30 percent of the continent's land and water by 2030, along with legally binding measures to tighten forest protections.

But Europe's governing body also was criticized by environmental and climate activists for not curbing agricultural subsidies that drive pollution.

Britain, Canada and the state of California have made similar conservation pledges in recent months. Their promises, mostly without detailed road maps, come in the wake of a major United Nations-backed scientific report that calls for transformative changes in the way humans use the Earth's land and waters in order to avoid dire consequences, including threats to the global food supply and health.

Whether those changes will be made soon enough depends on what nations of the world can agree to when they begin negotiations next year on a new global agreement to protect nature at an international summit scheduled

Catrin Einhorn contributed reporting.

to take place in Kunming, China. A draft proposal for those negotiations seeks for countries of the world to protect at least 30 percent of the planet, among other goals. Recent studies have offered ideas on which areas offer the most value for biodiversity and carbon storage.

Previous pledges to protect nature have gone unmet, with un-

Optimism is dulled by policy that critics say will increase Europe's agricultural pollution.

sustainable farming practices, overfishing and pollution placing the world on the brink of catastrophic biodiversity collapse.

The European Union's biodiversity proposal also seeks to reduce the use of harmful pesticides by 50 percent by 2030, and to restore 25,000 kilometers of rivers to their free-flowing state by removing dams and other human-made diversions.

The European Commission has yet to prepare legislation on the biodiversity proposal. Members

would have to vote on it before it can become law.

The conservation group, Campaign for Nature, approved the move, saying in a statement that “the litmus test will now be the effective implementation of the strategy,” particularly by the member nations of the European Union.

But the European Parliament also on Friday supported a contentious agricultural policy that offers direct payments to farmers and that environmental groups say promotes industrial agriculture that contributes to biodiversity loss and increased greenhouse gas emissions. Environmental groups had pushed lawmakers to instead link a large share of farmer subsidies to ecological protection measures.

Youth climate activists, including Greta Thunberg of Sweden, had waged a campaign to press lawmakers to vote against the common agricultural policy.

The World Wildlife Fund's European office said on Twitter that European parliamentarians had “shut their eyes to the climate & biodiversity crises.” The E.U.'s own study recently concluded that around 80 percent of the continent's natural habitats are in poor condition, and biodiversity in Europe continues to decline.

Libya's Top Factions Agree to Cease-Fire

By **NICK CUMMING-BRUCE and DECLAN WALSH**

GENEVA — Libya's two main warring factions agreed to a cease-fire on Friday, raising hopes for an end to years of bloody turmoil that have drawn in military forces from Russia, Turkey and other regional powers.

The two sides signed the agreement at the United Nations in Geneva at the end of a weeklong meeting of delegates from the internationally recognized Government of National Accord, which is based in the capital Tripoli, and the self-appointed Libyan National Army led by Khalifa Hifter and based in the country's east.

The two sides agreed to a complete, countrywide and permanent agreement with immediate effect, said Stephanie Williams, the United Nations acting special envoy who was chairwoman of the most recent talks. She said it called for frontline forces to return to their bases and for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and mercenaries within three months, a process that would be monitored by the United Nations.

“God willing, it will be the key to peace and security in all Libya,” Col. Ali Abushama, the head of the government delegation, said at the signing ceremony. “We have had enough suffering, enough division, enough bloodshed.”

Libya has a long history of failed peace initiatives and the reaction of the foreign sponsors that have driven the long-running war, on both sides of the conflict, will be crucial to the success of the cease-fire. Ms. Williams said the agreement will be sent immediately to the U.N. Security Council, stressing the critical importance of international backing.

The former U.N. envoy, Ghasan Salame, quit his job this year, partly in exasperation at the failure of the international community to provide meaningful support for peace efforts in Libya.

Mr. Salame has been vocal about his disillusionment with the open meddling by some foreign countries in Libya, such as Russia, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates, combined with the failures of Western countries like the United States, France and Britain to meaningfully counter that meddling.

The United Nations secretary-

Nick Cumming-Bruce reported from Geneva, and Declan Walsh from Nairobi, Kenya.



IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The city center of Benghazi, Libya. The government made a deal on Friday with the Libyan National Army, led by Khalifa Hifter.

general, António Guterres, welcomed the truce agreement as a “fundamental step” toward ending the conflict.

Mr. Guterres, who for the past seven months has been calling for cease-fires around the world to help contain the Covid-19 pandemic, expressed hope that combatants in other conflicts — in the Middle East, Afghanistan and more recently between Armenia and Azerbaijan — would use the “inspiration of the Libyan agreement” to follow the same path.

The latest agreement comes four months after Mr. Hifter's forces were forced into a humiliating retreat from their positions around the capital, Tripoli, which they had mounted a bitter, 15-month campaign to capture. Although the assault ended in failure, it drew powerful foreign actors ever deeper in the war for control of the oil-rich North African nation.

Russia sent mercenaries and the United Arab Emirates shipped vast amounts of weaponry in support of Mr. Hifter. On the other side, Turkey intervened decisively on the side of the beleaguered Tripoli government, sending military advisers, drones and Syrian mercenaries.

For months, the two sides have been engaged in a tense standoff around Surt, in central Libya, where the country's longtime dictator Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi was born and died violently in 2011. Surt is the gateway to a region known as the oil crescent, where most of Libya's oil production takes place.

Mr. Hifter halted most oil pro-

duction in January in an effort to starve the Tripoli government of funds. But production has risen sharply in recent weeks, to 300,000 barrels a day, amid wider expectations that the blockade would be lifted.

Although Mr. Hifter remains the leader of a powerful military coalition, his political strength has steadily diminished since his forces were routed from Tripoli in June. On his home turf in eastern Libya, other powerful political players have emerged in recent months and grown close to some of Mr. Hifter's foreign allies, notably Egypt.

In his first interview after resigning from the envoy job, Mr. Salame accused the U.N. Security Council of hypocrisy, saying the majority of its members had initially supported Mr. Hifter's assault on Tripoli and actively stymied his own peace efforts.

Ms. Williams described the accord reached on Friday as “a moment that will go down in history,” praising the courage, commitment and professionalism of the delegates in forging the deal.

The two sides agreed on Wednesday to reopen road and air links throughout the country.

Friday's agreement is intended to set in motion steps to unify security forces and disarm, demobilize and reintegrate the numerous armed factions that have operated unchecked by any central authority for years.

The two sides also agreed to measures that will reestablish national control over oil facilities and key institutions such as the central bank, Ms. Williams said.

Vietnam Mourns Pregnant Woman, One of 114 Flood Victims

By CHAU DOAN and MIKE IVES

HANOI, Vietnam — It was no time to travel, but when Nguyen Dac Minh's wife went into labor, he put her on his motorbike and rode toward the hospital.

Floodwaters that had killed scores across Vietnam were rising ominously around their village. At a washed-out railway overpass, he hired a man to ferry them in a small boat. But strong winds carried away some of the baby clothes the couple had packed, and Mr. Minh waded into the water to retrieve them.

Suddenly, the boat capsized in the fast-moving current. His wife, Hoang Thi Phuong, a 35-year-old cancer survivor, was just out of reach, and she was swept away by water turned brown by loosened sediment.

"Everything happened right in front of my eyes, but I couldn't save her," he said by phone on Thursday. "All I could do was scream."

Video from the scene in Thua Thien Hue Province has ricocheted across social media, generating an outpouring of grief and sympathy nationwide. Ms. Phuong, a mother of two, was one of at least 114 people killed this month in record-shattering floods that have pummeled Vietnam's central coast. Twenty-one people remain missing.

More than a quarter of the deaths have been attributed to landslides. One killed at least 20 military personnel last weekend in the central province of Quang Tri, a prime theater of battle during the Vietnam War. It is believed to have been the country's largest military loss in peacetime.

Nguyen Thi Xuan Thu, president of the Vietnam Red Cross Society, said the floods were among the worst the aid group had seen in decades.

"Everywhere we look, homes, roads and infrastructure have been submerged," she said.

Storms are a fact of life in Vietnam, with its 2,000-mile coastline. Typhoons lash central provinces during the rainy season, which begins in late summer. Tourists visiting Hoi An, a UNESCO World Heritage site on the central coast, are often surprised to see its narrow streets suddenly turn into Venice-like canals.

Scientists have pointed to climate change as the main driver of more frequent and deadlier storms around the globe. The authorities in Vietnam tend to be well prepared for natural disasters, but a surge in cyclones, rains and floods this month has overwhelmed some coastal provinces. According to the United Nations,

178,000 homes in central Vietnam had been flooded as of Thursday.

Vietnam's foreign minister, Pham Binh Minh, said on Twitter this week that the country had "suffered a difficult time with huge losses."

Now, as rescuers scramble to reach other flood victims by land, air and sea, Vietnam is bracing for its third major storm in three weeks. Typhoon Saudel was moving through the South China Sea on Friday and was expected to make landfall on Sunday — in the same coastal areas where many villages are already underwater.

The amount of rainfall this month was "so extraordinarily out of the normal" that it far exceeded the government's midrange predictions of how climate change might increase precipitation in central Vietnam by the end of this century, said Pamela McElwee, a professor of human ecology at Rutgers University who studies environmental issues in Vietnam.

Other countries in Asia have seen record-breaking rainfall. This year, torrential rains submerged at least a quarter of Bangladesh. Unusually heavy rains wreaked havoc in central and southwestern China, leaving hundreds dead and disrupting the economy's post-pandemic recovery. Flooding in Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Myanmar and Nepal killed scores of people, de-

Chau Doan reported from Hanoi, Vietnam, and Mike Ives from Hong Kong.



High water in Hue, Vietnam, a city in Thua Thien Hue province. Twenty-one people remain missing from this month's flooding.



Flooding and landslides have pummeled central Vietnam.

stroyed homes and inundated entire villages.

In Vietnam, heavy rains can be bad enough along the flat plains of the Red River, which flows southeast from the border with China through the Vietnamese capital,

Hanoi, before emptying into the sea. But in central Vietnam, where population centers are wedged between mountains and coastline, the potential for catastrophic flooding is that much higher.

"The earth is just soaked with water and has nowhere to go," Professor McElwee said. It hardly helps, she added, that tree cover is cleared in the mountains for hydropower dams, or that mountain

Raging currents tear a woman in labor from her husband.

roads are built in ways that weaken the soil.

She added that the floods were a lesson for those who believe that building more infrastructure is a silver-bullet solution to the climate crisis.

In the central province where Ms. Phuong and Mr. Minh scratched out a living, extreme weather is so common that it animates local folk sayings.

"When it is hot, heaven burns the field like baking stones. When it rains, fields go rotten and sand starts to stink," is a popular one.

For years, the couple were too

busy to worry much about the weather. He worked construction while she toiled on an assembly line in a garment factory. She also beat breast cancer.

Last week, when Ms. Phuong went into labor, Mr. Minh fired up his motorbike, asking his brother-in-law to follow along on a separate bike with his wife's luggage. When they reached the railway overpass, he hired a boat to take them across a flooded expanse to a taxi on the other side.

After he climbed out of the boat to retrieve the baby clothes, it tipped his wife into the floodwaters. He was close enough to see her hands waving as the current pulled her under, he said.

The authorities mobilized a search party of more than 100 people, but it was too late. Ms. Phuong's body was found about 300 feet downstream.

As of Friday, video of the search effort and Ms. Phuong's funeral had been viewed more than a million times, and donations were pouring in for Mr. Minh and the couple's daughter and son, now 12 and 13.

In a video recorded at the site after the accident, on a patch of road by the water, Mr. Minh can be seen bending to the ground in a prayerlike position.

"Oh my god," he said. "My darling."

Despite Fears of Election Chaos, Bolivia Enjoys a Smooth Vote

By JULIE TURKEWITZ

LA PAZ, Bolivia — As Election Day neared, candidates fretted over the possibility of fraud. Voters across Bolivia questioned the solidity of the electoral process. And many worried that the result — any result — would provoke anger and violence from the other side.

But in the days that followed the vote, something unexpected happened.

The election went smoothly, and its results were quickly and widely accepted — an accomplishment that is being celebrated by many in a country that has weathered years of threats to its democracy.

"Democracy won in Bolivia," said Fernanda Wanderley, director of the socioeconomic institute at the Universidad Católica Boliviana.

Exit polls on Sunday showed one candidate, Luis Arce, clearly taking the lead. His main opponent, Carlos Mesa, conceded the next day. On Friday, Bolivia's elec-

All sides accept the results in a hotly contested campaign.

toral tribunal confirmed that Mr. Arce would indeed be the next president of Bolivia, matching the exit polls and voters' expectations.

In the end, Mr. Arce won 55 percent of the vote, and Mr. Mesa had just under 29 percent, a win far bigger than Mr. Arce's advisers had predicted.

Mr. Arce is the chosen candidate of the former president, Evo Morales, a towering figure of Bolivian politics. Mr. Morales is a socialist who transformed the country, lifting hundreds of thousands of people out of poverty and prioritizing Indigenous and rural communities in a nation that had been run for centuries by a mostly white elite.

The numbers indicate clear voter interest in continuing with Mr. Morales's political project, and his

party, Movimiento al Socialismo, or MAS.

But voters and analysts also say the election signals a promising moment for a democratic system that had been slipping under Mr. Morales, who bypassed the rules in his government's own constitution to run for a third and then a fourth term, and was criticized for persecuting opponents, harassing journalists and stacking the judiciary in his favor.

His attempt to run for a fourth term last year ended in allegations of electoral fraud, and demands from opponents and protesters in the streets that he step down. Once police and the armed forces joined the call for his resignation, he left the country — and called his ouster a coup. Sunday's election was a do-over of last year's.

The president who has served in an interim capacity over the last year, Jeanine Añez, an opponent of Mr. Morales, has also persecuted her political enemies and stifled dissent, and infuriated many Bolivians by postponing the new election.

Her hard-line anti-MAS rhetoric, which made little distinction between party officials and everyday voters, turned off many Bolivians, said Raúl Peñaranda, a Bolivian journalist.

In interviews, many Bolivians attributed the relative calm after the election and the high turnout for Mr. Arce to a yearning for stability.

In the country's fewer than 200 years, it has seen 190 revolutions and coups. The last year included deadly protests, a presidential ouster, a health crisis that killed thousands, a financial crisis that has left many hungry and a contentious election that has rived the nation.

Mr. Morales, who was in office for 14 years, was Bolivia's longest-serving president and presided over the country at a time when a commodities boom sent money flowing into the country.

Mr. Arce was his economics minister for much of that time, and is often associated with that prosperity and relative political stability. He has also promised to stay in office just five years.



Luis Arce, the favored candidate of Bolivia's former president, Evo Morales, won 55 percent of the vote in Sunday's election.

All of this seems to have convinced more than half of the country to give him a chance.

"I think the crisis of the last year did a lot of damage to Bolivian democracy, part of an accumulative process," said Ms. Wanderley. "But in the end, Bolivia found a path to overcome that crisis, and was able to conduct a clean, legitimate election in which the winner was decided by the popular vote."

After Mr. Morales's ouster, Bolivia also made a concerted effort to address mistrust in the electoral system.

It overhauled its electoral tribunal, which had been stacked

The Organization of American States, which fielded the largest electoral observer mission in Bolivia last year, heavily criticized the 2019 process, concluding that election officials had engaged in "intentional manipulation" and "serious irregularities" that made it impossible to verify the result.

These irregularities included hidden data servers, manipulated voting receipts and forged signatures, the O.A.S. said.

Several reports by academics and policy experts have since criticized the organization's statistical analysis of the election.

But the O.A.S. report has shaped the local and global narrative of the election. It has been used by Mr. Morales's supporters to claim that global forces are conspiring against them, and by Mr. Morales's critics to claim that MAS rigged the vote.

These differing views have sent people to the streets over the last year, sometimes resulting in violent clashes.

This year the O.A.S. sent 40 people to observe the election. On Wednesday, the organization issued a report calling it "exemplary" and "without fraudulent actions."

The relatively smooth nature of the election may also have to do with who won.

Before Sunday's election, Mr. Arce's party had been a lead voice sowing doubt in the impartiality of the electoral tribunal. His supporters, in many interviews, often said that they wouldn't trust the vote if he didn't emerge as the victor.

"Arce is going to win, but they're going to try and cheat him out of it," said Graciela Fernández, 41, a produce seller, just days before the election. "Then there is going to be a fight."

Mr. Mesa, on the other hand, said in an interview that he would "absolutely, categorically" accept the results if he lost. And then he did.

Mr. Arce's criticisms of the electoral tribunal mostly fell away once he won.

"If the results had been different," said Ms. Wanderley, "we could have had problems, grave problems."

A Warning To a Celebrity In Philippines Ignites a Fury

By JASON GUTIERREZ

MANILA — The 22-year-old actress's voice broke last week as she talked about being threatened online with rape. She said she worried about the environment that her young nieces would grow up in, and called for creating "a better future for everyone."

This week, a Philippine general said that unless she changed her ways, she could end up dead.

The general, Lt. Gen. Antonio Parlade — the de facto head of a military task force fighting a long-running Communist insurgency in the Philippines — directed his criticism not at the remarks made by the actress, Liza Soberano, but at the forum where she made them: an online discussion on the rights of women and girls organized by the youth wing of Gabriela, a women's rights group that the military claims is tied to Communist guerrillas. (Gabriela denies the accusation.)

"Liza Soberano, there's still a chance to abdicate that group," General Parlade said on Facebook. Otherwise, he said, she would "suffer the same fate" as Josephine Ann Lapira, a young activist who was killed in a 2017 battle between the military and the Communist rebels, the New People's Army.

The general's comments led to an outcry from social media users, liberal politicians and the Commission on Human Rights, an independent government body.

"Coming from a high-ranking military official, such a statement is a form of suppression and restriction that serves to dissuade those who speak up for their beliefs and advocacies," a member of the rights commission, Gwendolyn Pimentel-Gana, said on Friday.

A lawyer for Ms. Soberano, Jun Lim, said that the actress was "apolitical," and accused General Parlade of "red-tagging" her — that is, accusing her of being a Communist. "Expressing her love and respect for women and children is her personal advocacy," Mr. Lim said.

General Parlade denied implying that Ms. Soberano was a Communist, saying that he had meant only to warn her against associating with militants. He said he supported women's rights.

But some of the general's critics said his comments reflected a hostility toward women that is prevalent in President Rodrigo Duterte's government.

In his Facebook remarks, General Parlade also warned another Filipina celebrity — Catriona Gray, who won the Miss Universe pageant in 2018 — against associating with left-leaning activist groups. And he accused Angel Locsin, an outspoken actress, of being involved with the rebels.

Ms. Gray, in particular, has been vocal about the government's crackdown on human rights organizations and its passage of a contentious antiterrorism law that rights groups say was designed to stifle opposition voices.

"To Liza and Catriona: It is difficult and painful to be at the front lines fighting beside persons oppressed by a norm that advocates rape, murder and exploitation," Senator Risa Hontiveros said by telephone.

"We will be monitoring him from now on," Senator Risa Hontiveros said in a telephone interview of General Parlade. "He should not use his power as a general and threaten these women."

Mr. Duterte, a self-confessed womanizer, has been repeatedly accused of misogyny. He once joked about the gang rape of an Australian missionary during a prison riot in the southern Philippines, saying that he should have been allowed to participate.

Gabriela, the country's most prominent women's rights organization, has denied having ties to the Communist Party or the rebels. Arlene Brosas, a Philippine lawmaker who is a member of Gabriela, said the military was using a "rehashed script" to attack the group.

"Our 20 years of advancing women and children's rights inside and outside of Congress cannot be smeared by their repeated lies," she said.

Ms. Soberano is a popular film and television actress whose breakthrough came with "Forevermore," a soap opera on the ABS-CBN network. On Friday, ABS-CBN issued statements in support of both Ms. Soberano and Ms. Locsin, who also appears on the network.

In the online discussion last week, Ms. Soberano became emotional as she talked about supportive messages she had received from women after filing a criminal complaint against someone alleged to have posted a rape threat against her on social media.

"I cried when they sent me those messages," she said, "because I didn't realize how many women were struggling to stand up for themselves."

At Korean War Tribute, Xi Takes Jab at the U.S.

By **STEVEN LEE MYERS**
and **CHRIS BUCKLEY**

SEOUL, South Korea — First China's leader, Xi Jinping, visited the national military museum in Beijing and hailed the country's "victory in the war to resist American aggression and aid Korea." Then he wrote a public letter to veterans in a retirement home in Sichuan.

On Friday, culminating a week-long commemoration of the Korean War, he delivered a pugnacious and at times visceral homage to those who sacrificed against the country's enemies, the United States foremost of them all.

"The Chinese people don't go looking for trouble, but nor do they fear it," Mr. Xi said before hundreds of party officials, military officers and aged veterans in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. "Confronted with any hardships or dangers, the calves of their legs will not shake, and their backs will not bend."

For Mr. Xi and the propagandists, the anniversary of China's entry into the Korean War 70 years ago this week could hardly have come at a more opportune time. The country, in their telling, is again facing an unprovoked assault by a superpower determined to thwart China's rise. This time the United States, under President Trump, has targeted its trade policy, its technological advances and its territorial ambitions.

The anniversary unfolded with a barrage of commemorative events, exhibitions and films. They all conveyed the same message: The Chinese people have stood up to the United States before and, regardless of the costs, they will again.

Another Chinese leader, in a different era, might have moderated the rhetoric before the United States election to avoid alienating the American political and business establishment. Not Mr. Xi.

"Seventy years ago, imperialist invaders brought the flames of war burning to the doorway of the new China," he said on Friday. "The Chinese people have a deep understanding that in responding to invaders, one must speak to them in a language that they understand."

The events commemorating the

Steven Lee Myers reported from Seoul, South Korea, and Chris Buckley from Sydney, Australia. Claire Fu and Amber Wang in Beijing contributed research.

war — long known as the "forgotten war" in the United States — have followed a series of military drills and an outburst of propaganda. Together they have signaled a hardening resolve against the United States and raised tensions inflamed by the coronavirus pandemic and President Trump's continuing derision of China.

Popular opinion in both countries has soured as a result, creating animosity that is unlikely to ease soon, regardless of the outcome of the U.S. election, which is now less than two weeks away.

"Seventy years ago, China was poor and weak," Cheng Xiaohe, an associate professor at the School of International Studies at Renmin University in Beijing, said in an interview, echoing the theme of Mr. Xi's speech on Friday. "Facing the United States as a superpower, China fought. Is there anything China dare not do now?"

History in China has long been repurposed to fit political needs, leaving little room for a frank reckoning with the past. In the last two decades, some Chinese historians quietly challenged the heroic official narrative of Mao's decision to thrust the country into the Korean War, fought from 1950 to 1953. But that story has long been a pillar of the founding mythology of the People's Republic of China, and Mr. Xi relived its highlights in his remarks.

Coming barely a year after the country's founding, the war was a searing and painful test. When it broke out, China remained at war with the nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek that had retreated to Taiwan, and also faced armed resistance to its invasion of Tibet.

Chinese forces crossed the Yalu River to aid the retreating North Korean army on Oct. 19, 1950; six days later, they fought their first battle with the allied troops fighting under a United Nations mandate. According to China's official account, which Mr. Xi cited on Friday, 197,000 Chinese died in the war, though historians broadly agree that the actual toll was much higher.

Commemorations of the war have ebbed and flowed in intensity over the years for reasons having little to do with the war itself.

Guan Ling, a commentator with Duowei News, the Chinese-language site based in New York, has chronicled how major anniversaries have reflected the country's respective leaders and geopolitical circumstances.

Mao Zedong played down the



An event marking the 70th anniversary of China's participation in the Korean War at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on Friday.



Veterans arriving for the Korean War tribute in Beijing. The event followed a series of military drills and an outburst of propaganda.

20th anniversary in 1970 as he sought a normalization of relations with the United States, whereas Jiang Zemin in 2000 emphasized the 50th, which occurred in the wake of the American bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Serbia during the Kosovo war the year before.

John Delury, a professor of Chinese studies at Yonsei University in Seoul and author of a forthcoming book on the Korean War, said

that Mr. Xi had delivered a similar speech as vice president 10 years ago, although in substance and tone it was less combative.

"There's a different resonance now," Mr. Delury said. "He's hitting the stand-up-to-America theme pretty hard now. It's getting intense."

Mr. Xi also appeared to have a domestic audience in mind. He and other party leaders are scheduled to gather next week in a

closed-door assembly to discuss China's priorities for the next five years. He used Friday's speech to restate his case for the primacy of the Communist Party leadership, with himself at the core.

It is a theme he has often invoked amid the pandemic, which, despite early missteps, his government has managed to bring under control domestically. Even the sight of a cadre of hundreds in a crowded hall — all wearing masks — was a striking contrast to bans on gatherings in many countries.

Mr. Xi's speech had a strikingly hawkish tone, describing at one point the sacrifices of soldiers who had used their bodies as shields against a far superior force. "They smashed the myth that the American military was invincible," he said.

Since coming to power in 2012, Mr. Xi has reorganized the Chinese military, trying to create a modern, multipronged fighting force, a model that he said the Korean War first taught the People's Liberation Army.

For most in China, the war has become a distant memory. Its remaining veterans are gradually dying off, and Chinese society today is unimaginably transformed from the impoverished China of

the 1950s. The country has not experienced war now since 1979, when it invaded Vietnam and was routed.

Lest the idea of war become an abstraction, the party's propaganda apparatus has churned out dozens of programs. A six-part documentary aired each night this week on state television. The nightly news casts have featured not only Mr. Xi's appearances, as always, but also profiles of soldiers who fought and died.

Film studios have responded to government directives and produced a series of feature films, including an animated movie, called "Salute to Heroes," that is aimed at younger audiences.

Also having its opening on Friday was a blockbuster about the war starring Wu Jing, the lead actor in the "Wolf Warrior" action film franchise that has given a name to Chinese diplomacy of late. The film depicts Chinese soldiers keeping a vital river crossing open against relentless American bombardment. Its title in English: "The Sacrifice."

Near the end, an American pilot marvels at the tenacity of the soldiers below. He radios back to his commanders that their attacks have failed. "There's nothing we can do to stop them."

RUSSIA DISPATCH

She Used to Clean City Hall in a Remote Hamlet. Now She Runs the Town.

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month, and settled into the mayor's office in City Hall before isolating at home last week because of a coronavirus scare.

As a first order of business — after finding her replacement as cleaner, that is — she plans to bring streetlights to the village, she said, something that people have long been asking for.

The goings-on in Povalikhino precipitated a Russian media frenzy, focusing predictably on the farcical nature of it all. But by illuminating the essential cynicism that is gnawing away at democracy around the world, the election of Ms. Udgodskaya served a more serious purpose.

Apart from in a few Arab monarchies and the remaining Communist dictatorships in places like North Korea, democratic elections are the only method in almost all the world today for legitimizing political power.

That's why Russia, a number of other former Soviet states and a growing number of countries practice so-called managed democracy, where elections take place on schedule, like clockwork, but the incumbent virtually never loses.

To achieve this, the police squelch real political opposition, and election commissions bump promising candidates off the ballot with technicalities — such as an electoral ban in Russia against the opposition leader Aleksei A. Navalny, who was also incapacitated with poison before this year's local elections.

These repressive measures have proven to be effective — sometimes too effective. The problem then becomes finding supposed opponents to play the role of losers, to keep up the facade of democratic process.

In Russia, Vladimir V. Putin has won the presidency three times against the same hapless candidate, Gennady Zyuganov, a humorless man with a droning, wooden voice conveniently put forward by the Communist Party. In 2018, Mr. Putin ran against a lineup that included his reputed goddaughter, Ksenia Sobchak, who of course also lost.

In Turkmenistan, the president once ran against his minister of water resources. In Kazakhstan in 2011, a candidate running against the president endorsed the president.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMILE DUCKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



"I didn't want to become president because that is not possible," the Kazakh presidential candidate, Mels Yeleusizov, said in an unusually candid interview at the time of his role as a fig leaf of democratic process.

Andrei Kolesnikov, a political analyst with the Moscow Carnegie Center, said that in Russia,

political advisers to the Kremlin keep a close eye on national and local politics, scouting for talent for both pro-government candidates and for those who can plausibly and safely play the role of losers.

"This is one of the instruments of legitimizing elections in Russia," Mr. Kolesnikov said in a

telephone interview of fielding weak opponents. "They look like elections without being real elections."

The system does occasionally cough up the wrong result. In the Siberian region of Khabarovsk, an opposition candidate won the governorship and was later arrested, touching off months of

protests. "In small communities, such breakdowns can happen," Mr. Kolesnikov said.

That, of course, is what happened in Povalikhino.

Irina Nechayeva, the mayor's assistant, said it wasn't so much the assumed hopelessness of running against Mr. Loktev that turned off most people but, in

Clockwise from top: the village of Povalikhino, Russia; a village store; a portrait of Vladimir V. Putin, the Russian president, in the office of Marina Udgodskaya, Povalikhino's new mayor.

fact, the remote possibility of winning.

"You have to listen to everybody's point of view," Ms. Ivanova said of the mayor's role, "and in Russia, there are as many opinions as there are people."

Ms. Udgodskaya, 35, lives with her husband, a day laborer, and two teenage children in a cozy, if weather-beaten, house, raising chickens, ducks, rabbits and geese in the backyard. In an interview, she said she was never interested in politics and had no idea whether her story reflected any larger issues. "I like farming," she said.

In Povalikhino, logging trucks rumble through town, sending up splashes of dirty water from potholes on the main street. To get around, the residents navigate a maze of wooden walkways to stay above the swampy ground, passing garden plots and cow pastures.

Tatyana Murzina, a clerk in the village store, said Ms. Udgodskaya stood a chance only because the village is small enough that people knew her personally and liked her. "Everything was clear to us," Ms. Murzina said.

Vladimir Yeltsov, 62, a retired trucker, said he voted for Ms. Udgodskaya, "though I pity her," because the village budget never has enough to fix the roads. The former mayor, Mr. Loktev, actually did a good job repairing water mains, he said, but was such an introvert he rarely talked to people. "He didn't show he cared," Mr. Yeltsov said.

Mr. Loktev declined to be interviewed. Tamara Lokteva, his wife, said in an interview outside their tidy blue house that the loss was a "very painful topic."

Ms. Lokteva said that her husband never really wanted to be mayor and never clung to power. He now blames her for encouraging him to run twice, and for the way things turned out. "He always says, 'You got me into this.'"

Trading Fear at Home for Misery on America’s Doorstep

Tents, and Lives, Unravel in Camp As Migrants Wait

By CAITLIN DICKERSON

MATAMOROS, Mexico — A butter yellow sun rose over the crowded tent camp across the river from Texas and a thick heat baked the rotten debris below, a mixture of broken toys, human waste and uneaten food swarming with flies.

Clothing and sheets hung from trees and dried stiff after being drenched and muddied in a hurricane the week before.

As residents emerged from the zipper-holes of their canvas homes that morning in August, some trudged with buckets in hand toward tanks of water for bathing and washing dishes. Others assembled in front of wash basins with arms full of children’s underwear and pajamas. They waited for the first warm meal of the day to arrive, though it often made them sick.

The members of this displaced community requested refuge in the United States but were sent back into Mexico and told to wait. They came there after unique tragedies: violent assaults, oppressive extortions, murdered loved ones. They are bound by the one thing they share — having nowhere else to go.

“Sometimes I feel like I can’t hold on anymore,” said Jaqueline Salgado, who fled to the camp from southern Mexico, sitting outside her tent on a bucket as her children played in the dirt. “But when I remember everything I’ve been through, and how it was worse, I come back to the conclusion that I have to wait.”

Ms. Salgado is one of about 600 people stranded in a place that many Americans might have thought would never exist. It is effectively a refugee camp on the doorstep of the United States, one of several that have sprung up along the border for the first time in the country’s history.

After first cropping up in 2018, the encampment across the border from Brownsville, Texas, exploded to nearly 3,000 people the next year under a policy that has required at least 60,000 asylum seekers to wait in Mexico for the entirety of their legal cases, which can take years.

Those who have not given up and returned home or had the means to move into shelters or apartments while they wait have been stuck outside ever since in this camp, or others like it that are now strung along the southwest border.

Many have been living in fraying tents for more than a year.

The Trump administration has said the “remain in Mexico” policy was essential to end exploitation of American immigration laws and alleviate overcrowding at Border Patrol facilities after nearly two million migrants crossed into the United States between 2017 and 2019.

The Mexican authorities have blamed the American government for the situation. But they have also declined to designate the outdoor areas as official refugee camps in collaboration with the United Nations, which could then have provided infrastructure for housing and sanitation.

“It has been the first time we have been in this situation,” Shant Dermegeorditchian, director of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’ office in Monterrey, Mexico. “And we certainly don’t support this.”

The U.S. Supreme Court agreed this week to review the policy after it was successfully challenged in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. The case will not be resolved until after the election, so those living in the camp have months of waiting ahead, if not longer.

The camp drew attention during Thursday night’s presidential debate, when former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. noted, “This is the first president in the history of the United States of America that anybody seeking asylum has to do it in another country,” he said. “They’re sitting in squalor on the other side of the river.”

The arrival of the coronavirus has made things much worse. Though only a few cases broke out at the camp, most of the American aid workers who entered regularly to distribute supplies stopped coming, hoping to avoid transporting the virus.

The Gulf Cartel, which traffics drugs across the border and is as powerful a force as local law enforcement, moved in to fill the void.

The gang charges tolls to camp residents who decide to swim across the river on their own and sometimes kidnaps them for ransom. Beatings and disappearances have also become more common — sometimes to protect women or children who are being abused, but other times because camp residents have violated the gang’s rules about when and where they are permitted to roam outside their tents.

Nine bodies have washed ashore on the banks of the Rio Grande near the camp in the last two months; the Mexican authorities said most of the deaths were a result of a rise in gang activity during the pandemic.

“I haven’t done anything, I haven’t stolen anything, and still I have to keep escaping. Why?” Ms. Salgado said that day in August.

She said she and her children were on the run from her abusive husband, who



Photographs by
ILANA PANICH-LINSMAN
for The New York Times

drank excessively and would beat them when he was upset, and because her brother had been kidnapped and killed. Just then, her 11-year-old son, Alexander, who seemed to have only vaguely been paying attention, put down his toys and started to heave.

“He is constantly nervous,” his mother said. “Every time we fought, his anxiety would make him sick and he would end up vomiting.”

Most children in the camp have not attended formal schooling since they left home. Parents agonize over whether they will be able to make up for the lost time. Some have become worried enough to launch their children across the river on the backs of smugglers, sending them alone on the last leg of their dangerous journey to the United States.

Those who cannot bear to make such a decision are often tormented by second-guessing.

“I was scared I would never see him again because he’s all I have,” said Carmen Vargas, clinging to the arm of her 13-year-old son, Cristopher, who has a mop of curly brown hair and is tall for his age. “But my son needs to go to school. He’s only 13 years old and practically he has lost two years already.”

Cristopher teared up listening to his mother describe the life they had left behind. She pulled out identification cards showing that she had been a municipal police officer in Honduras, but said her success became a liability when she put a powerful drug cartel member in jail in 2018. Within hours, the cartel announced a hit on Ms. Vargas. She and Cristopher fled, leaving behind the ornate wooden furniture she had saved up to buy and a refrigerator full of food.

With cupped palms, Ms. Vargas caught beads of sweat that dripped down her forehead as she spoke. She apologized for the stench; just outside her tent, insects crawled around a pile of feces that had washed up when the river flooded. “You have to withstand everything here: sun, water, cold, heat, we have it all.”

The camp residents are chronically sick with flu-like viruses and stomach bugs that wend endlessly through the tents and with respiratory problems aggravated by the dusty air. Their skin is



‘Sometimes I feel like I can’t hold on anymore.’
JAQUELINE SALGADO, who fled with her children from southern Mexico



pockmarked from the throngs of mosquitoes that overwhelm the camp after it rains.

Most acknowledge that life on the other side of the border would hardly be charmed — especially if they lost their asylum cases and had to live in the shadows.

“Without papers is it still better to be in the U.S. rather than here? Yes, it’s a thousand times better,” said Lucia Gomez, from Guerrero, Mexico, as she picked up clothing and toys that had been scattered outside their tent by hurricane winds. “They might find you, detain you and deport you,” she said. “But if you manage to avoid them, you will be able to put food on the table.”

In her arms, she held her youngest child, an 8-month-old boy named Yahir, whose back was covered in a bumpy heat rash. Her son William, 16, plopped cherries into his mouth from a plate that was covered in flies.

About 600 asylum seekers, many of them children, are stranded in what is effectively a refugee camp in Matamoros, Mexico, as they await a decision on their status by U.S. officials. The threats of illness and cartel violence hang in the air.

Ms. Gomez said her family had made a run for the camp from southern Mexico after their home was ransacked and her husband and father-in-law were shot to death. “A man came in and shouted, ‘Put your hands up!’” her 8-year-old son Johan chimed in, holding his arms up as if he were holding a gun.

“That is why we wait,” she said. “We try to get through this unworthy life. And we try to resist for our children’s sake.”

Volunteer groups bought the laundry basins and water tanks, as well as hand-washing stations and a row of concrete showers that, after months of lying dry in the middle of the camp, were recently connected to a water source.

But their efforts have often felt futile. Since the camp appeared, the invisible wall of policies blocking its inhabitants from being allowed into the United States has only grown taller and more fortified.

Some have found ways to improvise a modicum of comfort. Antonia Maldonado, 41, from Honduras, stood in a kitchen she had cobbled together under tattered blue tarps suspended from trees. She placed raw chicken onto a grate over an open flame, using a scavenged piece of wood resting on two stacks of upside-down buckets as a countertop.

She said she had been looking toward the election for hope that a new administration might ease some of the restrictions put in place by President Trump.

“Not a leaf gets into that country without his permission,” Ms. Maldonado said, adding, “I just want to live with dignity. I’m not asking for riches.”

Some parents pinch pesos to buy decorations and treats from supermarket reject bins for their children’s birthdays. But many walk around the camp with bloodshot eyes, constantly on the brink of tears, or in a zombie-like state, as if they have shut down emotionally.

When Rodrigo Castro de la Parra arrived in Matamoros, he alternated between emotional extremes. In the span of a year, he had gone from being a shy high school student who liked to stay up late at night and draw flowers in his notebook to the head of his entire family. That was after Barrio 18, the most brutal and powerful gang in Guatemala, murdered his mother and sister — signaling a grudge that meant he and the rest of his relatives could be next on its kill list.

“I can’t sleep,” he said one afternoon, sitting outside the tents where he lived with his wife, daughter, grandmother, orphaned niece and his 16-year-old-sister, who had given birth after arriving at the camp. “Sometimes I feel hysterical.” He said he worried that someone else in his family could be killed.

But only two weeks later, it was Mr. Castro de la Parra’s body that washed out of the river at one edge of the camp. His death was a mystery. The police investigated it as a possible homicide but ultimately determined that he had drowned.

His wife, Cinthia, was still in shock when she took a bus back to Guatemala City for the repatriation of her husband’s body. She also hoped to replace her travel documents that had been soaked in his pants when he died.

She would need them when she went back with their 2-year-old to try again.



Doing laundry at the camp. A hurricane the week before had drenched and muddied residents’ sheets and clothes.

After Sharp Exchanges in Debate, Climate Change Takes Center Stage

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mented by his predecessor and moved to withdraw the United States from the international Paris Agreement on climate change.

But the closing moments of the debate reverted back to an older question: Can the nation transition to clean energy from fossil fuels without enormous economic and political disruption?

“Basically what he is saying is, he is going to destroy the oil industry,” Mr. Trump charged, adding, straight to the camera, “Will you remember that, Texas? Will you remember that, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma?”

The line was reminiscent of the Republican response in 2016 to Hillary Clinton’s acknowledgment that “we’re going to put a lot of coal miners and coal companies out of business” as the nation moves to clean energy. Those comments resonated in coal states like West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Wyoming.

Mr. Biden’s comments may focus attention on a different set of battlegrounds, such as Texas and New Mexico. Representative Xochitl Torres Small, an endangered freshman Democrat in New Mexico, said on Twitter, “We need to work together to promote responsible energy production and stop climate change, not demonize a single industry.”

Representative Kendra Horn of Oklahoma, another freshman Democrat facing a tough re-election bid, declared, “Here’s one of the places Biden and I disagree. We must stand up for our oil and gas industry.”

Though more alluded to than stated outright, transitioning from fossil fuels will be necessary to meet Mr. Biden’s goals of eliminating emissions from the power sector by 2035 and reaching net-zero emissions across the economy by midcentury. That transition, scientists say, is required to avert the worst consequences of climate change.

Yet he has walked a fine line throughout the campaign, insisting that natural gas production — and the jobs it creates — will remain a core part of the United States energy composition for several years to come even as he envisions a future powered more by wind, solar and other renewable sources.

Some energy experts said the Trump campaign’s attacks on Mr. Biden may not have the same resonance as those on Mrs. Clinton



TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

An oil rig and pump jacks in Texas. In Thursday’s debate, President Trump said Joseph R. Biden Jr. would “destroy the oil industry.”

four years ago, in large part because public understanding of climate change has grown and the major oil companies of the world have, to varying degrees, pledged to reduce their emissions.

“This is a playbook that they keep coming back to, and it’s less and less effective. The economy is moving on and the public is moving on,” said Joshua Freed, who leads the climate and energy program at Third Way, a center-left think tank.

Mr. Freed called the level of attention climate change received at the two presidential debates and throughout the campaign “overdue” and said he believes the United States has turned a corner on its acceptance of the need to reduce greenhouse gases. “When you have the worst wildfires in history on the West Coast, when you have flood after flood after record-breaking storm and hurricane across the rest of the country, you have people saying, ‘This is a big problem and we want to see it

addressed,’” he said.

During the 12 minutes that NBC devoted to climate change on Thursday, the moderator, NBC’s Kristen Welker, framed human-caused global warming as a fact. She asked candidates for their solutions rather than whether they “believe” the science.

Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump engaged in a sustained debate about the economic effects of both addressing and failing to address the problem. And for what many analysts said was the first time ever, the candidates were asked to talk about the consequences of pollution on communities of color who disproportionately live near industrial sites.

“Its presence in both debates underscores the difference and the magnitude in which this issue is thought of as a voting issue and not just a niche issue in a party primary,” said Robert Gibbs, a former White House press secretary under President Barack Obama.

“What it means is that climate

change and climate-change solutions have jumped a number of other really important issues into the forefront of not only what’s being discussed in the waning days of the election, but likely at the top of the agenda in the beginning of the next Congress. That’s fundamentally different,” Mr. Gibbs said.

Anthony Leiserowitz, director of the Yale Program on Climate Change Communication, credited the shift to a surge in public awareness and engagement around climate change over the past five years. Mr. Obama made climate change a centerpiece of his second term. The science around the dangerous consequences of climate has gotten stronger. And increasingly Americans are faced with the reality of record-setting weather extremes along with floods, hurricanes and wildfires.

“Americans have a different consciousness about climate change than they did 12 years

ago,” he said.

And for the first time, climate change polled as a top issue for Democrats during the primaries, which Mr. Leiserowitz called “hugely consequential.”

He also said Mr. Trump’s outspoken denial of climate science has helped bring attention to the issue. “Having a climate denier in chief who is out there saying it’s a Chinese hoax, all of that helps sharpen the distinction between the positions of the two parties,” Mr. Leiserowitz said.

Douglas Holtz-Eakin, who was an economic policy adviser to Senator John McCain’s 2008 presidential campaign against Mr. Obama, said areas of agreement make poor rallying points. That year, both candidates not only believed that climate change was real and serious but had similar proposals to address it.

“I thought this would be a moment when the nation learned a lot about greenhouse gas emissions,” Mr. Holtz-Eakin said. But

other than a handful of news articles, it was largely ignored.

“Issues become important when they’re a point of differentiation among the candidates,” Mr. Holtz-Eakin said. “What I finally realized in retrospect was, there was no point in talking about it because it doesn’t help you pick.”

In the 2020 election, the difference between the candidates could not be more stark.

Mr. Trump has disparaged climate science and installed climate change deniers in prominent posi-

The Trump campaign portrays an embrace of renewable energy as a threat to jobs.

tions at both the White House and environmental agencies. He has sought to roll back every federal regulation aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions, moved to make it easier for aging coal plants to keep operating and promoted greater oil and gas production.

During Thursday’s debate, Mr. Trump claimed he has “so many different programs” to address climate change but offered no solutions beyond an executive order he signed to support a World Economic Forum tree-planting initiative. He attacked renewable energy and said, falsely, that retrofitting buildings to make them energy efficient would shrink windows to tiny portals.

Mr. Biden called climate change an “existential threat to humanity.”

Back in 2012, recalled Lanhee Chen, policy director for Mitt Romney’s presidential campaign against Mr. Obama, “there really wasn’t any pressure of any kind in the political marketplace to have, for example, your climate change plan.” In that race, both candidates also accepted the reality of climate change and the need to address it, albeit to different degrees.

But, he said, even the Obama campaign did not raise the issue to force a public debate. “Politicians and campaigns are very good reflections of where the public is at. Campaigns don’t tend to spend time on issues that people don’t care about,” he said.

Trump Deflects Question About Family Separation

By ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS

WASHINGTON — President Trump has never been known for making apologies or displaying regret, but when his policy of separating children from their families at the southwestern border arose during his debate with former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. on Thursday, he had a ready deflection for the “kids in cages” accusation.

It was Mr. Biden’s fault.

“They said, ‘Look at these cages; President Trump built them,’” Mr. Trump said. “And then it was determined they were built in 2014. That was him.”

Mr. Trump is correct that the Obama administration expanded the number of border facilities with chain-linked enclosures in 2014, but the journey from their construction to contend with a surge of Central American children crossing the border to Mr. Trump’s “zero tolerance” policy that led to the separation of thousands of families was not captured by the president’s evasions. Nor is it explained by the “kids in cages” catchphrase often hurled by Mr. Trump’s opponents.

“It is one of the definitive phrases, but I don’t think sloganeering will ever bring you closer to why this disaster happened in the first place,” Cristobal Ramón, a senior policy analyst at the Bipartisan Policy Center, said of the “kids in cages” catchall. “You have to get beyond slogans.”

The Obama administration separated children from adults at the border only in cases when there was a doubt about the familial relationship between a child and an accompanying adult or if the adult had a serious criminal record.

Mr. Trump’s “zero tolerance” policy was a deliberate act of family separation, meant to deter migrants from trying to enter the United States. It directed prosecutors to file criminal charges against everyone who crossed the border without authorization, including parents, who were then separated from their children when they were taken into cus-

tody.

That policy was ended amid international outcry, but its repercussions remain. Court documents filed this week showed 545 children still have not been reunited with their parents after the Trump administration resisted sharing information with a court-appointed committee of lawyers and advocacy groups tasked with finding their guardians.

But as with many of Mr. Trump’s prevarications, there was a nugget of truth to his assertions Thursday night. The holding of migrant children in chain-linked enclosures predated his administration.

Traditionally, migrants who crossed the border initially were held by the Border Patrol in stations designed for the short-term stay of a specific population: single Mexican adults who could be quickly returned to Mexico. In 2014, the demographic at the border shifted dramatically, to Central American families and unaccompanied children who surrendered to agents with the hope of obtaining protection in the United States.

A law designed to protect migrant children, the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act, prevented the U.S. government from rapidly turning away such families, since they had not traveled from a neighboring country. The families, who fled poverty, torture and persecution, were instead packed into the stations, prompting agents to cram some into adjacent concrete sally ports — essentially large garages — in the sweltering heat.

“I went back to Washington and said you have a humanitarian disaster in front of you,” said Gil Kerlikowske, a former commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection, recalling his message to the Obama administration after a visit to the facilities in 2014.

The Obama administration then converted a warehouse in McAllen, Texas, into a facility that could hold more than 1,000 detainees. That facility, with chain fencing installed to separate adult men from mothers and children, would later be known as the Central Processing Center.

“They stood up what we thought would be a temporary

structure” that would be better for families and children, said Ronald D. Vitiello, former deputy chief of the Border Patrol in the Obama administration and a former acting director of Immigration and Customs Enforcement under Mr. Trump. “In a nontechnical sense, are those cages? I guess you could call them that.”

The design, he said, was to “be open so you can see from one side of the facility to the other to protect people in it.”

But expediency led to cruelty. Mr. Trump claimed on Thursday that the migrants were “so well taken care of,” but in reality, his own policies fueled overcrowding in the holding facilities.

After drawing widespread condemnation from lawmakers in both parties, immigration activists and the United Nations, Mr. Trump signed an executive order in June of 2018 that largely ended

Turning the ‘kids in cages’ accusation over to Biden’s tenure in the White House.

the policy of family separation.

But the president’s anti-immigration messaging helped fuel another surge of Central American families seeking refuge at the border in 2019. Smugglers purchased radio spots warning families that there was a brief window to go to the United States before the next crackdown.

After they are processed in a Border Patrol facility, migrant children traveling alone are supposed to be transferred to a shelter managed by the Health and Human Services Department, where many are subsequently released to a relative sponsor.

But Mr. Trump deterred many sponsors from claiming those children by requiring they provide fingerprints and other personal information that some feared would later be used to find and deport them. With spaces limited in those shelters as well as longer-term detention facilities managed by Immigration and Customs En-

forcement, the holding cells along the border were once again crammed with children lacking proper hygienic resources and exposed to disease. They were held in the border cells for weeks, even though the government is supposed to transfer them to shelters within 72 hours.

“There was the front-end policy of separating children through zero tolerance,” Mr. Ramón said. “There was the back-end policy of requiring fingerprints to get children out of detention.”

“That’s where you create this backlog of children in facilities that weren’t designed for them,” he added.

The detention facilities are not as relevant now — but not because migration has halted. Instead, through its “Remain in Mexico” policies, the Trump administration has forced tens of thousands of asylum seekers to wait on the other side of the border for court hearings, creating squalid refugee camps in some of Mexico’s more dangerous areas.

The administration has also cited the coronavirus in using a public health emergency rule to rapidly return migrants, including children traveling alone, back to Mexico or their home country.

At the debate on Thursday, Mr. Trump hurled his “They built the cages” accusation at Mr. Biden repeatedly, so often that it was difficult for Mr. Biden to answer. But the former vice president did manage to say that parents had their children “ripped from their arms and separated, and now they cannot find over 500 sets of those parents and those kids are alone, nowhere to go, nowhere to go.”

“It’s criminal,” Mr. Biden added.

Lee Gelernt, the primary lawyer challenging the family separation policy, said Mr. Trump was trying “to switch the debate” away from a policy that was exclusive to his administration.

“The fact is no other administration, Democrat or Republican, has ever systematically separated children,” Mr. Gelernt said. “The Trump administration’s actions to systematically separate children is unprecedented and what made that much more horrific is that there was no age limit. Even babies and toddlers were separated.”



AD WATCH

‘Hamilton’ Star Spins Stevie Wonder Into Ballot Instructions With a Beat

A new radio ad from the Democratic National Committee further amplifies the party’s get-out-the-vote message in the key battleground state of Pennsylvania — with the voice of Leslie Odom Jr., best known for his performance as Aaron Burr in the original cast of the Broadway musical “Hamilton,” singing about secrecy envelopes to the tune of Stevie Wonder’s hit “Signed, Sealed, Delivered I’m Yours.”

THE MESSAGE Mr. Odom is perhaps the only person who can turn instructions about using a secrecy envelope into a catchy jingle. But the lyrics — “Use your secrecy en-ve-loope. Double seal it to protect your vooote.” — are intended to remind Pennsylvanians how to correctly vote by mail.

The radio ad includes a whole suite of instructions: A voter must fill the ballot out and place it inside a small envelope known as a secrecy envelope, seal that, and place it into a larger return envelope. That envelope is then signed, sealed, and yes, delivered once the voter puts it in the mail, drops it off at a local county elections office or puts it in a drop box.

NEWSLETTER: ON POLITICS

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2020 Election



TRUMP

On Thursday night, viewers saw a notably different President Trump from the candidate who appeared at the first presidential debate. He was less hectoring. He did not repeatedly interrupt his Democratic opponent, Joseph R. Biden Jr., or the moderator. And he was disciplined — at least by his standards — returning to a few central messages. Mr. Trump had come under widespread criticism for his demeanor at the first debate. To be clear, Mr. Trump was still aggressive, blustery and often slashing on Thursday. But his aides had urged him to dial it back; to a considerable extent, he did.

ADAM NAGOURNEY

1. ‘ROUNDING THE CORNER’

At a time when the coronavirus is surging across the nation, and health care officials are warning that case counts will rise in the months ahead, Mr. Trump was the face of optimism. “We are rounding the turn, we are rounding the corner,” he said.

The president said he was confident a vaccine would be developed by the end of the year, a prediction that is decidedly more optimistic than the one being offered by medical professionals. He suggested that his own experience after testing positive for the coronavirus showed that it was not as devastating as was widely thought.

“I got better very fast, or I would not be here tonight,” Mr. Trump said “They say I’m immune, whether it is four months or a lifetime, I’m immune. More people are getting better.”

If Mr. Trump does not win re-election, his handling of the coronavirus outbreak in the United States will be one of the main factors. But the challenge for Mr. Trump is that his upbeat view at the debate runs counter to what many scientists are saying and what many Americans are experiencing.

Voters in large numbers disapprove of how he has handled the virus. They think Mr. Biden would do a better job in leading the country out of this crisis. They think it will get worse before it gets better, and, in one measure of how Mr. Trump is not in step with the country, they support the mandatory use of masks.

2. EVER THE OUTSIDER

At times, a viewer would be forgiven for forgetting that Mr. Trump has been the president for four years. He reprised one of his most effective attacks that he used against Mrs. Clinton in 2016, portraying Mr. Biden as a stale veteran of government who had failed to get anything done.

At one point, Mr. Biden talked about building on the Affordable Care Act to guarantee health care at affordable rates. “He was there for 47 years,” Mr. Trump said. “He did not do it. He was there as vice president — vice president for eight years — and it's not like it was 25 years ago. It was just a little while ago, right? He did not do anything.”

Mr. Trump's attempt to portray himself as an outsider running against the Washington establishment after serving for four years as president may seem like a bit of a stretch. But it proved effective in 2016 against Mrs. Clinton, and it reminds his supporters of what they liked about him in the first place.

3. NO PLAN IN SIGHT

The president opened himself up to a tough line of questions on health care by saying earlier on Thursday that he hoped the Supreme Court would overturn the Affordable Care Act. Arguments on the constitutionality of the health law are set for early next month. Since taking office, Mr. Trump has made dismantling it one of his top priorities.

The law prohibits insurance companies from denying coverage to people with pre-existing conditions, a highly popular policy that has become more urgent with a pandemic that has sickened millions of Americans. Aware of the political risks of his position, Mr. Trump has repeatedly promised to put forth a plan to make sure that people with pre-existing conditions do not lose their insurance. But he has yet to announce a detailed plan, and he faltered during the debate as he tried to account for Republicans' calls to abolish the health law, which played a large role in their losing control of the House in 2018.

“Pre-existing conditions will always stay,” he said during the debate. “What I would like to do is a much better health care — much better — we'll always protect people with pre-existing” conditions.

At another point, Mr. Trump predicted that Republicans would win control of the House, saying such an outcome would allow his party to pass legislation that would provide such health coverage. But even Republicans, surveying what appears to be a gloomy electoral outcome, say their prospects of gaining back the House are remote.

4. ‘LEAST RACIST PERSON’

Mr. Trump attacked Mr. Biden for his sponsorship of the 1994 crime bill, which put in place tough punishments for federal crimes and included mandatory sentences for repeat offenders. The bill has long come under criticism for disproportionately targeting people in minority communities, and Mr. Biden has acknowledged that parts of it were a mistake.

Mr. Trump spoke of his own record on race in terms that were, at the very least, dubious. “I am the least racist person in this room,” he said at one point.

“Nobody has done more for the Black community than Donald Trump,” the president said. “If you look, with the exception of Abraham Lincoln, possible exception, nobody has done what I’ve done.”

Mr. Biden mocked him for that remark. “‘Abraham Lincoln’ here is one of the most racist presidents we’ve had in modern history,” Mr. Biden said. “He pours fuel on every single racist fire.”

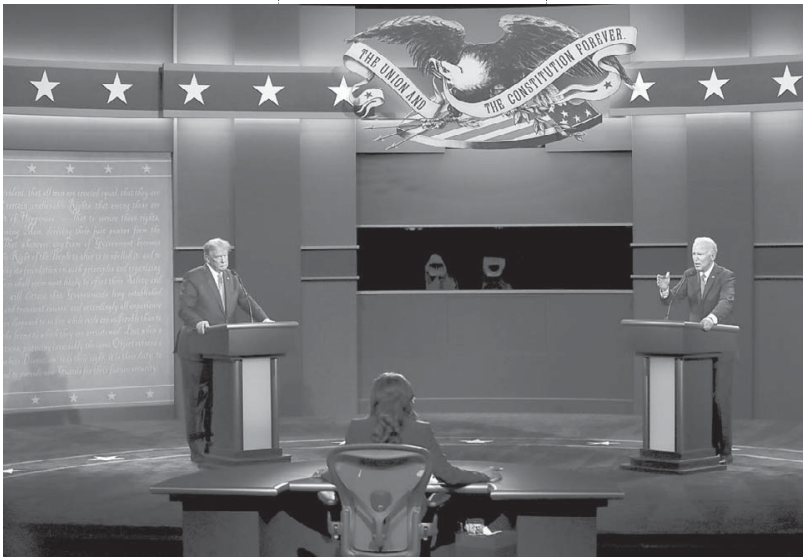
But the president's attacks on Mr. Biden over the crime bill were sharp and persistent and could make a difference. According to polls, Mr. Trump is doing as well or better with minority voters this year than he did against Mrs. Clinton in 2016. If he is able to chip away at Mr. Biden's support among Black voters, that will make a difference in battleground states like North Carolina and Florida.

4 KEY MOMENTS THE FINAL DEBATE



‘If you look, with the exception of Abraham Lincoln, possible exception, nobody has done what I’ve done.’

PRESIDENT TRUMP



AMR ALFIKY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

“‘Abraham Lincoln’ here is one of the most racist presidents we’ve had in modern history.”

JOSEPH R. BIDEN JR.



BIDEN

The debate between President Trump and Joseph R. Biden Jr. had its share of sharp clashes on Thursday evening, as the two candidates met for the final time before Election Day. Mr. Biden, who remains ahead in national and key battleground polling, framed Mr. Trump as a divisive leader who has failed to guide the country through the coronavirus pandemic. The president, who interrupted his opponent much less than during their first debate (partly because of new debate rules), denounced Mr. Biden's international and domestic record.

ASTEAD W. HERNDON

1. MISSING LOVED ONES

The first question of the debate went to Mr. Trump, asking about his handling of the pandemic. The president, invoking his own diagnosis with the virus and seeking to turn the page away from the topic, said that Americans were “learning to live with” the outbreak and that the “country can’t lock ourselves up in a basement like Joe does.”

Mr. Biden used the moment to do something the president has not: acknowledge the hundreds of thousands in the country who have lost loved ones to the virus. He shot back that Americans are “learning to die with” the virus, and highlighted how families are missing loved ones at the dinner table or in their bedrooms.

The words served a dual political purpose. Mr. Biden wants to center this election on Mr. Trump's pandemic response, which has earned low marks from both voters and health experts. Mr. Biden has also fashioned himself as a comforter in chief, using moments of grief to highlight his history of family tragedy and connect with voters on a human level.

2. ‘IT’S ABOUT YOUR FAMILY’

Throughout the week, Mr. Trump's allies had made clear he intended to attack Mr. Biden over his son's business dealings, including those in China. Conservative news outlets have zeroed in on that angle as Election Day nears, hoping to cast Mr. Biden and his family as nefarious characters who profited off his political position.

Mr. Biden was ready for the attacks with a two-pronged offensive strategy to throw the onus back on Mr. Trump.

First, he referred to a recent New York Times report showing that Mr. Trump had a previously undisclosed bank account in China, though many other details remain unclear. This allowed Mr. Biden to push back on the notion that he was soft on China in the name of his son, and force the president to answer for various business dealings that he has not clarified to the American people.

Mr. Biden also had a line that seemed to come from debate preparation: “It's not about his family and my family, it's about your family. And your family's hurting badly. If you're a middle-class family, you're getting hurt badly right now.”

Mr. Trump immediately mocked him for sounding like a “politician,” but the moment spoke to Mr. Biden's clear intention to pitch unity against divisiveness. For a long time, American politicians' children were considered off-limits in attacks from rival candidates. Mr. Biden was speaking to voters who may be uncomfortable with this new political world.

3. ‘WHO BUILT THE CAGES?’

In the Democratic presidential primary, Mr. Biden's challengers sometimes sought to hit him over President Barack Obama's handling of immigration. Throughout Mr. Obama's tenure, when Mr. Biden was vice president, liberal groups criticized the administration over its strict border enforcement and high numbers of deportations.

And as Mr. Trump has defended his controversial child separation policy, he has tried to insulate himself by saying that Mr. Obama made the cages that housed the children taken away from their parents by the Trump administration.

During the immigration section of the debate on Thursday, Mr. Trump repeatedly asked Mr. Biden, “Who built the cages?” Mr. Biden did not respond directly, choosing to focus on the president's words and actions in the last year.

When asked why he would be different if elected, Mr. Biden said he would be president and not vice president, a remark some observers saw as his creating distance between himself and Mr. Obama in a way he rarely does.

The exchange highlighted how Democrats are more comfortable criticizing Mr. Trump on immigration as an issue than they are in arguing for their own vision for border policy. It also pointed to what could be another fault line if Mr. Biden is elected, and he comes under significant pressure from the progressive wing of his party to show a different attitude toward immigration from that of the Obama-Biden administration.

4. BLUE AND RED TOGETHER

Mr. Trump has, even as president, positioned himself in opposition to Democratic-controlled cities and states. In contrast, during the debate and on social media, Mr. Biden has highlighted his willingness to be a president to all Americans, and he has made it a central part of his closing argument in the race.

At the debate, Mr. Trump said he opposed a coronavirus relief bill passed by House Democrats in part because it gave significant money to Democratic-led cities. Mr. Biden used the chance to highlight his message of unity, which his campaign has pushed in advertisements in the campaign's final days.

“Look what he's doing,” Mr. Biden said. “Blue states or red states — they're all the United States.”

He returned to that theme several times through the evening. Earlier in the day, Mr. Biden had also tweeted: “I’m running as a proud Democrat, but I will govern as an American president. I will represent you — whether you vote for me or against me.”

Mr. Biden's campaign believes the message is authentic to his history as a bipartisan legislator and an effective olive branch to independents and swing voters who may be considering voting for him. In political terms, operatives call the tactic creating a “permission structure” that tells people who are considering backing a candidate that their interest, and vote, are welcomed.

Arguments That Had Substance

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

President Trump and former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. engaged in more than 90 minutes of actual debate on Thursday. It was civil, calm, sedate, substantive (at times) and, almost, even normal.

Trump still didn't have a compelling answer on Covid-19.

Mr. Biden, who walked onstage wearing a mask, delivered his closing argument at the very start. The coronavirus has killed more than 220,000 people in the United States. “Anyone who's responsible for that many deaths should not remain as president of the United States of America,” Mr. Biden said in his first opportunity to speak.

Mr. Trump claimed that models had predicted up to 2.2 million deaths (that was if the country did nothing), noting that it is in fact a “worldwide pandemic” and arguing, accurately, that mortality rates have gone down. “We're rounding the corner. It's going away,” Mr. Trump claimed. Hospitalizations and cases are actually on the rise.

Biden made the ‘Come on, man!’ case.

For all the talk leading up to 2020, especially among skittish Democrats, that Mr. Trump was a Teflon Don, it is in fact Mr. Biden who is the candidate who has navigated deep into October as the front-runner with enviable approval ratings despite months of attacks and negative ads. For much of the race, his retort to Mr. Trump's wild accusations of being a left-wing extremist has amounted to a “who me?” shrug. “Do I look like a radical socialist?” Mr. Biden asked in one August speech.

On Thursday, Mr. Trump repeatedly sought to tar Mr. Biden by association, linking him to Ms. Harris's position on health care in the primary, tagging him as being controlled by “AOC plus three,” a reference to Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and some of her progressive House colleagues, and seeking to rope him to Senator Bernie Sanders on health care, too.

So Mr. Biden deployed his “Come on, man!” strategy again. “He's a very confused guy,” Mr. Biden said. “He thinks he's running against somebody else. He's running against Joe Biden.”

Trump landed his ‘all talk, no action’ punch . . .

This was the case so many Republicans have been desperately waiting for the president to make. And over and over on Thursday, Mr. Trump returned to it, attacking Mr. Biden as a politician who has been in and around Washington for nearly a half-century and whose promised changes should have been enacted decades ago.

“You keep talking about all these things you're going to do,” Mr. Trump pressed. “Why didn't you get it done?”

. . . but he also got lost in a cul-de-sac of obscurity.

Mr. Trump debated at times as if the tens of millions of Americans tuning in were as intimately familiar with the internet outrages that burn bright across the right-wing media ecosystem as he is.

He made references to names and numbers and moments that almost surely zoomed over the heads of viewers, from an indirect swipe at the husband of the governor of Michigan to a jab at the Obama administration for “selling pillows and sheets” to Ukraine to attacks on the Biden family's business dealings, most of which lacked almost any discernible context.

“By focusing on these right-wing theories, Trump pandered to a base that doesn't need persuading,” said Meredith Kelly, a Democratic strategist, “and he whistled right past everyone else.”

They had substantive disagreements.

The two candidates did engage in a back and forth about how much of the nation's economy and schools should be shuttered to contain the virus. Mr. Trump fiercely advocated reopening as much as possible as quickly as possible. Mr. Biden said that should happen only when it is actually safe.

The candidates disagreed, civilly, on health care and the environment. Mr. Biden said he would push the nation to “transition from the oil industry” and end federal subsidies.

“That is a big statement,” Mr. Trump replied. “Will you remember that, Texas? Will you remember that, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma?”

POLITICAL MEMO

Stronger Second Debate Suggests What Might Have Been for Trump

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

President Trump and Joseph R. Biden Jr. left Nashville on Friday to begin the final chapter of the campaign after a debate in which both men cleared the relatively low bar of expectations. Mr. Biden dispelled any notion that he was too old to be president and Mr. Trump, after a loud and chaotic first debate, was a relatively restrained figure, exhibiting discipline as he prosecuted a case against Mr. Biden.

But with polls showing the president struggling against Mr. Biden and the election less than two weeks away, Mr. Trump had more at stake. And should Mr. Trump lose, he may long regret that he failed to muster the kind of performance he showed the nation on Thursday at that pivotal first debate in September, or that he abruptly canceled what would have been a third encounter between the two men.

For Republicans, that what-might-have-been scenario struck home as they watched Mr. Biden provide Mr. Trump an opening in the final moments of the debate with remarks about the oil industry.

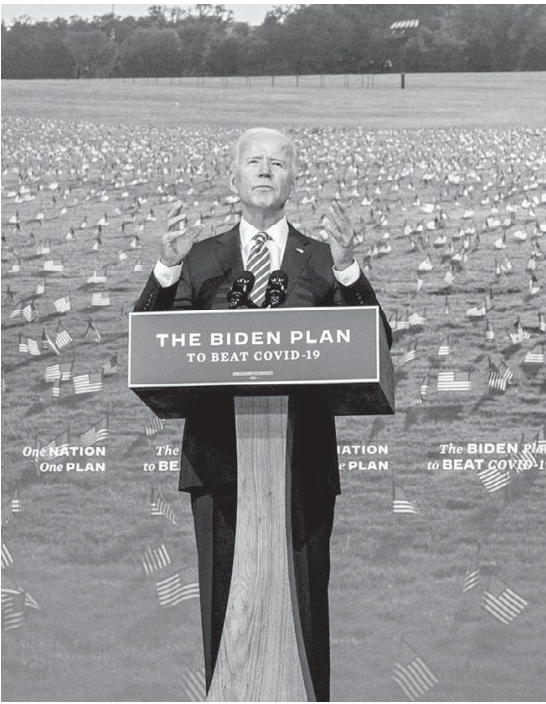
“If Trump had acted this way in the first debate, he would have had the space to be able to see how effective the professional pol line of attack could have been, and then focused on that for the last four weeks,” said Chris Lehane, a Democrat and senior adviser to Vice President Al Gore, referring to Mr. Trump’s efforts to portray Mr. Biden as an ineffective Washington insider.

Mike Murphy, a Republican consultant and critic of Mr. Trump, said the president turned in a stronger debate performance, but it was almost certainly too little and too late. “Slightly better maybe — but still losing,” he said. “Country has wanted to fire Trump for a while.”

The second and final debate was fought, by most accounts, to a relative draw. But it set the contours for this homestretch, as Mr. Trump and Mr. Biden hurtled into the final days of the 2020 campaign, taking their closing arguments from the prime-time stage to critical states like Florida for the Republican incumbent and Pennsylvania for the Democratic nominee.

And each man left Nashville able to draw on the missteps of his opponent.

For Mr. Trump, it was Mr. Biden’s acknowledgment that he wanted the nation to “transition from the oil industry.” For Mr.



HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A day after their debate, the candidates were back to campaigning Friday, with former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. delivering a speech in front of a screen at a theater in Wilmington, Del., and President Trump holding a rally with supporters in The Villages, Fla.



ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Biden, it was Mr. Trump’s assertion that Americans were “learning to live with the virus” at a time when the coronavirus pandemic is hitting record numbers across the nation.

Mr. Biden woke up to a goading “Question of the Day for Joe Biden” from the Trump campaign, sent in an email to reporters, that signaled how Republicans would like to frame the case against Mr. Biden in states like Pennsylvania in the final days. “Are you writing off all energy-producing states since you again pledged to end the oil industry and destroy fossil fuels?”

Mr. Trump returned to that point as he campaigned at The Villages retirement home in Florida. “I said whoa, do you want to get rid of oil and gas?” the president said. “Is that — yeah, we want to phase it out. I said thank you, Texas, are you watching? Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, Ohio, are you watching?”

And Mr. Biden gave a speech in Delaware in which he assailed Mr. Trump for his handling of the pandemic, which polls suggest has turned many Americans against the president.

“President Trump said he found a cure,” Mr. Biden said, drawing on the president’s remarks from the night before. “But let me tell you, we have 1,000 people dying every day.”

Republicans, looking for encouragement in the face of discouraging polls, said they hoped the boisterous rallies that the president is embarking on in battlegrounds from Wisconsin to North Carolina this weekend, against the urging of health care officials, would offer a powerful contrast with Mr. Biden and translate into enthusiasm and end-of-campaign voter turnout.

“The Biden beat-the-clock strategy is running out of steam, and the contrast with Trump’s rallies and energy is remarkable,” said Scott Reed, who was campaign manager for Bob Dole when he ran for president in 1996. “Enthusiasm matters down the homestretch, and this race is far from over.”

Even before their final debate, Mr. Biden had been fending off charges that he supported a ban on fracking, a potentially damning line of attack in states like Pennsylvania. He said at the

debate that he supported only a ban on fracking on federally owned land, a distinction that might have been lost in the tumult of the closing moments.

Mr. Biden is planning two stops in Pennsylvania on Saturday, appearances that were planned before the debate but that now give him the opportunity to address any damage he might have done with his comments on fossil fuels.

Some Democrats said that while his remarks were most likely too late to make a major difference, this could prompt the Biden campaign to reassess what had already seemed to be a long-shot bid to capture Texas, a major oil-producing state.

Marla Romash, a Democratic political consultant who served as communications director for Mr. Gore, said that in this environment, even a strong performance by Mr. Trump would not help him. “There is so much Trump, his campaign, and his administration have done wrong, the debates pale in comparison,” she said.

Mr. Trump was, by conven-

tional standards, hardly the model of a poised presidential debater. He devoted much of an answer about the pandemic to criticizing Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the federal infectious disease expert who has become a source of comfort for many Americans, as Mr. Biden watched, looking slightly baffled. His attacks on Mr. Biden asserting corruption by his son Hunter were often framed in the kind of conspiratorial shorthand that might be familiar to viewers of Fox News but were very likely hard to follow for most Americans.

But he displayed a surgical discipline at times in confronting Mr. Biden and created material to work with as he headed into these final days.

Mr. Trump grinned when Mr. Biden stumbled into his remark about the oil industry, calling it out for voters in Pennsylvania, a state that Mr. Trump won last time and that polls show Mr. Biden with a reasonable, but not overwhelming, lead. Mr. Trump can win re-election without Pennsylvania, but it will not be easy.

Mr. Trump’s assertion that he

was the best president on civil rights since Abraham Lincoln, as he attacked Mr. Biden for sponsoring the 1994 crime bill, no doubt led to eye-rolling in Democratic circles, and even Republicans say it is belied by his record and rhetoric as president.

But polls show that Mr. Trump is doing as well or slightly better among Black and Latino voters than he did against Hillary Clinton. Even marginal success in winning over voters of color, or encouraging some of them to stay home, could make a difference in tightly contested battleground states like North Carolina.

“He did himself some good,” Peggy Noonan, who was a speechwriter for Ronald Reagan, wrote in her column in *The Wall Street Journal*. “He wasn’t a belligerent nut. He held himself together, controlled himself, presented opening remarks that made sense. He won, not a dazzling win but a win that kept him in the game.”

The effectiveness of the president’s performance, though, was undercut by two factors. The first is the lateness of the hour; almost 50 million have already voted, and polls suggest that the vast majority of Americans have made up their minds and will not change them, debate or not.

The second is Mr. Biden.

Until those last faltering moments, he was, even Republicans said, a sharper and more engaged debater than he has been at any other time this year. His aggressive performance — in which he frequently put Mr. Trump on the defensive, no small feat — was reminiscent of the pugnacious performance he displayed against Paul D. Ryan, the former House Republican leader, in the 2012 vice-presidential debate.

But this was one debate where the president set the bar not only for himself, with his much-criticized performance at the first debate, but also for Mr. Biden, whom he had repeatedly belittled as feeble and old.

“Neither of the two were at a level even remotely approaching how presidential candidates typically perform because the whole expectations baseline is now so low,” Mr. Lehane said. “Not exactly Lincoln-Douglas or even Obama-Romney. One guy showed he was not a thug for about 75 minutes out of 90 minutes. And the other guy showed he was not senile.”

Hometown to ‘Ghost Town’: Trump Swipes at New York

By EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

In the final weeks of the presidential race, President Trump cannot seem to stop harping on New York City.

He wrote on Twitter that his hometown had “gone to hell.” He said on Fox News this week that the city was in such despair that he might win the state in November — despite polls showing that he is far behind. And in both debates against Joseph R. Biden Jr., Mr. Trump referred to New York as a ghost town.

“Look at what’s happened to New York, it’s a ghost town. It’s a ghost town,” he said at the debate on Thursday night. “For so many years I loved it, it was vibrant. It’s dying, everyone is leaving New York.”

Mr. Trump’s antagonistic stance lies in stark contrast to Mr. Biden, the former vice president who has made his home state of Delaware a central part of his narrative, referring to it several times during Thursday’s debate. But for the president, belittling New York seems to serve two purposes: It appeals to his base as a campaign strategy, and allows him to address personal scores with his foes.

While many New Yorkers feel that Mr. Trump has turned his back on the city, the feeling is mutual with Mr. Trump. The city overwhelmingly voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016. There were protests when he returned to Trump Tower. His name was stripped from skyscrapers.

Democratic prosecutors in New York are digging into his family’s finances, and Democratic leaders, like Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo and Mayor Bill de Blasio, frequently accuse him of betraying his hometown. Mr. Cuomo recently accused the president of “actively trying to kill New York City ever since he was elected.”

Representative Peter T. King, who is close with Mr. Trump, says the city serves as a useful foil for the president for “what happens when liberals take over.”

Maggie Haberman contributed reporting.

“If he wants to have a punching bag that plays with the rest of the country, New York City is the perfect target,” he said. “You see the boarded-up buildings, you see the dramatic increases in crime, you see people leaving for the Hamptons.”

Mr. Trump, however, has not seen much of the city’s problems firsthand: The only visit he made to the city this year was to see his ailing brother before his death in August.

Despite his absence, his aides said that Mr. Trump was still proud of being from New York, even noting that the president interrupted Mr. Biden during Thursday’s debate to say that he was born in Queens.

“President Trump loves New York City and, as you heard last night, is proud to be from Queens,” Judd Deere, a White House spokesman, said in a statement that also included many of Mr. Trump’s grievances, including “draconian shutdowns” and high taxes.

“This is a failure of state and local leadership, and this president is not going to let what is happening to New York and many other places happen to the rest of the country,” he added.

Indeed, the president last month labeled the city an “anarchist jurisdiction” and threatened to slash its funding.

But he has also rejected initiatives that would benefit New York. He refused to support a project to build a new rail tunnel under the Hudson River; he punished the city as a sanctuary for undocumented immigrants; and he made it more difficult for New Yorkers to fly at airports in a fight over driver’s licenses for undocumented immigrants.

The president is now balking at granting New York more coronavirus recovery funds, despite entreaties from Mr. King to reconsider. But the constant taunting from Mr. Cuomo and Mr. de Blasio — including painting “Black Lives Matter” on the street in front of Trump Tower — does not help, Mr. King said. They could play nice, he suggested, or “at least tone it



CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump resents a city that voted against him and stripped his name from skyscrapers.

down.”

At this juncture, playing nice would likely have little effect: Mr. Trump seems to regard his hometown with such acrimony that his decision to officially move his residency to Florida last year served as a de facto finalization of divorce papers.

Anthony Scaramucci, a former White House communications director under Mr. Trump, says the president views his attacks as “red meat” for voters who resent East Coast elites.

“He’s throwing New York under the bus because he thinks it’s going to help him get re-elected,” said Mr. Scaramucci, who broke with Mr. Trump and endorsed Mr. Biden.

“He’s determined that those people are in battleground states and disaffected areas of the country that have a disdain for East Coasters, elitists and Wall Street,” Mr. Scaramucci said.

That strategy should ring familiar to Mr. Trump: Four years ago, Senator Ted Cruz of Texas attacked “New York values” at a Republican presidential debate. Mr. Trump bristled at Mr. Cruz’s taunts then, saying the city was a “great place” with “wonderful people.”

But Mr. Trump’s tone began to change not long after the election,

which saw New York City voters side with Ms. Clinton four to one.

While Mr. Trump says he wants to be competitive in New York State, he could fare worse in this election than he did against Ms. Clinton. Mr. Trump won about 36.5 percent of votes in the state in 2016 and is polling at less than 30 percent against Mr. Biden.

His standing in New York fell during the height of the pandemic and in the aftermath of the Black Lives Matter protests, when he said that his “administration will not allow federal tax dollars to fund cities that allow themselves to deteriorate into lawless zones,” singling out New York and two other cities.

The “anarchist” designation could have a real impact on transit funding and other federal resources, though New York City officials on Thursday filed a lawsuit contesting the potential funding cuts.

The two investigations in New York have also clearly rankled Mr. Trump. The Manhattan district attorney’s office is seeking his tax returns as part of an investigation into the president and his business practices, focused on potential crimes that include tax and insurance fraud and falsification of business records.

New York’s attorney general,

Letitia James, is looking into whether the Trump family’s real estate company committed fraud, and Mr. Trump’s son Eric was compelled this month to give a deposition in the matter.

Mr. Trump has frequently criticized the prosecutions as politically motivated and unfounded, contending on Twitter that the investigations were products of a “politically corrupt New York.”

Given the acrimony, Mr. Trump’s visits to New York have dwindled. He made a few trips to the city last year, for the United Nations General Assembly, fundraising events and an Ultimate Fighting Championship event at Madison Square Garden.

The president received a mixture of boos and cheers at the Garden, but Representative Peter King, who was with Mr. Trump, said the president “was in his glory.”

“The next morning at the hotel,” Mr. King said, “cops and firefighters were taking pictures with him.”

But when the city’s largest police union endorsed Mr. Trump this summer, the rally was not held in New York. It was staged nearly 40 miles away at his country club in Bedminster, N.J.

Mr. Trump visited the Hamp-

tons in August for fund-raisers and came to Manhattan later that month to visit his younger brother, Robert Trump, in the hospital. The president’s only other trip to the state this year was in June to give the commencement address at West Point, about an hour’s drive north of the city.

U.S. presidents have long visited the sites of major tragedies and natural disasters. President George W. Bush visited New York after the Sept. 11 attacks, and President Barack Obama visited communities after mass shootings and tornadoes.

Mr. Trump has also traveled to Florida and Puerto Rico after devastating hurricanes, and in May, the president said that he would visit New York City, where more than 20,000 people have died from the coronavirus, “when things calm down.” He has not done so.

Jesse Garcia, a county Republican leader on Long Island, said Mr. Trump had shown his love for the city by providing relief funds through the \$2 trillion CARES Act in March and sending the Navy hospital ship U.S.N.S. Comfort to the city, along with the Army Corps of Engineers.

“I believe where he has some angst is with the ultraleft progressive socialist Democrats that have let this wonderful city rot from the inside,” Mr. Garcia said.

The president’s comments about New York’s decline could also help Republicans in local suburban House races on Long Island, Mr. King said, including ones involving Representative Lee Zeldin and Andrew Garbarino, a state assemblyman seeking to succeed Mr. King, who is not running for re-election.

After so many slights, Mr. Cuomo said Mr. Trump would need heavy protection if he tried to return.

“Forget bodyguards,” the governor told reporters last month. “He better have an army if he’s going to walk down the street in New York.”

Edward F. Cox, the former head of the New York State Republican Party who is working on Mr. Trump’s presidential campaign, said the president would have no qualms about returning, despite Mr. Cuomo’s threats.

“He can come here anytime,” Mr. Cox said. “He doesn’t need an army. There would be a few protesters, but he’d be just fine.”

G.O.P. Holds Narrow Lead In Key Races In Montana

By NATE COHN

Republicans hold a narrow lead up and down the ballot in Montana, according to a New York Times/Siena College poll Friday, as Democrats remain highly competitive in a state President Trump won by 20 points in 2016.

Over all, Mr. Trump leads Joe Biden by six points, 49 percent to 43 percent, echoing favorable results for Mr. Biden in Times/Siena surveys of relatively white states across Northern battlegrounds. But in the hotly contested race for U.S. Senate, the Republican senator Steve Daines narrowly leads Gov. Steve Bullock, 49 percent to 46 percent.

The survey was conducted from Oct. 18 to 20, before the final presidential debate on Thursday.

Republicans also hold modest four-point leads in the races for U.S. House and governor. In a reversal from the Times/Siena poll in September, the Republican Matt Rosendale leads the Democrat Kathleen Williams, 50 percent to 46 percent.

The sitting House representative, Greg Gianforte, leads the Democrat Mike Cooney by four points as well, 48-44.

The poll result is a strong one for Democrats in many respects, except by the measure they care about most: the race for Senate. In the close battle for Senate control in Washington, the contest emerged as one of the best Democratic opportunities to flip a seat after the Democrats recruited Mr. Bullock, who won re-election for governor in 2016 even as the same voters backed Mr. Trump.

The survey finds that Mr. Bullock continues to be well liked by the state's voters. He has a 52-43 favorability rating — the highest of any Montana candidate tested, including his Republican rival, Mr. Daines. In contrast, Mr. Biden has a 43-54 favorability rating.

Although Mr. Bullock's favorability rating is a net 20 points bet-

New York Times/Siena College Poll of Likely Voters in Montana

	Trump	49%
	Biden	43%
	Other/Undecided	8%

Based on a poll of 758 likely voters from Oct. 18 to 20. THE NEW YORK TIMES

ter than Mr. Biden's, he runs only a net three percentage points better in the race for Senate than Mr. Biden does in the presidential contest.

In this survey, the state's Republican lean is just a bit too much for Mr. Bullock. Mr. Daines now wins 87 percent of voters who approve of Mr. Trump's performance, up from 84 percent in the last Times/Siena poll. Mr. Bullock wins only 7 percent of voters who approve of Mr. Trump's job performance. (Fifty-two percent of the state's likely voters approve of the president's performance, compared with 44 percent who disapprove.)

Other surveys have shown Mr. Bullock running ahead of Mr. Biden by a wider amount, including a recent NBC News/Strategies 360 poll of Montana released on Thursday, which showed Mr. Daines leading by one percentage point and Mr. Trump ahead by eight percentage points in the presidential race. (Our earlier poll of Montana also showed Mr. Bullock trailing by one point.)

That so many voters are conflicted between their partisan leanings and their favorable views of Mr. Bullock adds uncertainty to the race, as voters could ultimately resolve their predicament in a different manner. The race has attracted record campaign dollars in Montana, with well over \$100 million already spent in a sparsely populated state (about \$100 for each person in the state).

Montana poses a number of unusual challenges for pollsters. The state's voter registration file does not have party registration or a record of whether a voter participated in a Democratic or Republican primary. In other states, pollsters rely on this information to ensure the right partisan balance.

Adding another element of uncertainty, Montana is a state with same-day voter registration. The Times/Siena poll includes only voters who are already registered to vote. Ordinarily, same-day registrants would be expected to favor Democrats, since they're usually younger voters. This year, Republican strength in late registrations elsewhere in the country raises the possibility that it could work to the G.O.P.'s advantage.

As Governor Follows Trump’s Lead, Iowans Sour on G.O.P.

By TRIP GABRIEL and ASTEAD W. HERNDON

NEWTON, Iowa — As Iowa set a record for patients hospitalized with Covid-19, Gov. Kim Reynolds appeared at an indoor fund-raiser for the Republican Party this week, just days after joining President Trump at one of his huge rallies in Des Moines, where she tossed hats to the clamorous crowd.

At neither event were social distancing or face masks high priorities. The rally last week defied guidelines by the White House's own health experts that crowds in central Iowa be limited to 25.

Iowa's governor is not on the ballot next month. But her defiant attitude toward the advice of health experts on how to fight the coronavirus outbreak, as her state sees a grim tide of new cases and deaths, may be dragging down fellow Republicans who are running, including Mr. Trump and Senator Joni Ernst.

Ms. Reynolds, the first woman to lead Iowa, is an avatar of the president's approach to the pandemic, refusing to issue mandates and flouting the guidance of infectious disease experts, who say that universal masking and social distancing are essential to limiting the virus's spread. Defying that advice has eroded support for both Mr. Trump and Ms. Reynolds in Iowa, especially among voters over 65, normally a solid Republican constituency, according to public and private polls.

“Our older Iowans — many have not been able to leave their homes because they do not feel safe,” said Representative Cindy Axne, a first-term Democrat who represents Des Moines and southwest Iowa. “If you go into a grocery store, the large majority of people are not wearing masks.”

Ms. Axne added that disappointment with the governor's handling of the virus was lifting Democrats like her who are on the ballot this year. “Voters know we're standing up to keep their families safe,” she said.

A Monmouth University poll on Thursday showed Democrats are leading in three of Iowa's four congressional races, and the fourth, in deeply conservative Northwest Iowa, was unexpectedly tight.

Rick Flanagan, a 61-year-old voter from Newton who had planned to vote for Ms. Ernst in the Senate race, recalled the moment he changed his mind in favor of her Democratic opponent.

It was “when Ernst said she didn't believe the deaths and the science from Covid,” Mr. Flanagan said, referring to remarks by Ms. Ernst echoing a conspiracy theory that coronavirus deaths were being inflated and that medical professionals had a financial incentive to do so.

“That sealed it for me, and honestly, it soured me on Republicans,” Mr. Flanagan said. Ms. Ernst walked back her remarks and apologized to health care workers.

David Kochel, a former senior adviser to Ms. Reynolds, dismissed as “ridiculous” the idea

that any Republican-leaning voters were defecting to Democratic candidates over the governor's handling of the coronavirus. He said that in races this year, Iowa was reverting to its status as a swing state.

“The polls in 2020 are almost identical to the polls in 2018” before the pandemic, he said. “Iowa has very bright partisan lines.”

Iowa is part of a third surge of coronavirus infections nationally that is hitting the Midwest with particular ferocity. The state ranks among the top 10 nationally with the highest number of new cases per capita in the past week, according to New York Times tracking.

Ms. Reynolds has called mask mandates “feel good” actions and refused to issue a statewide directive, unlike Republican governors in such states as Texas and Ohio. At the same time, she has blocked municipalities from enforcing their own mask edicts. Iowa was one of only a few states that never imposed a full stay-at-home order, and it let restaurants, bars and hair salons reopen earlier than most places. Still, the hospitality and retail sectors are struggling because consumers have not fully returned.

Through a spokesman, Ms. Reynolds declined an interview request.

Pressed in September if she would consider a mask mandate as cases began to rise again, Ms. Reynolds said, “Nope, not going to happen.” She said she trusted Iowans, armed with data about the virus, to make their own deci-



Gov. Kim Reynolds of Iowa is not on the ballot, but her virus response may be hurting other candidates, including President Trump.

sions.

After the Trump rally, where thousands filled close-set rows of chairs and bleachers at a Des Moines airport hangar, Ms. Reynolds told reporters that an emergency order she issued requiring social distancing in public “was never meant to prohibit First Amendment rights to allow people to gather.”

Rob Hogg, a Democratic state senator from Cedar Rapids whose Twitter account reports daily coronavirus case totals for Iowa counties, said the governor's appearance at the rally “looked terrible.”

“I believe many more Iowans will be voting on coronavirus against Republicans,” he predicted.

Mr. Trump and Ms. Ernst — whose seat could play a decisive role in determining control of the Senate — are both in tight races in a state that Mr. Trump easily won four years ago. This week, Larry Sabato's Crystal Ball, a nonpartisan handicapper, assessed Ms. Ernst's race as leaning toward her Democratic opponent, Theresa Greenfield. More than \$100 million has been spent on the race by outside groups, about equally for each candidate.

In a New York Times/Siena College poll of Iowa this week, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. narrowly led Mr. Trump with likely voters, 46 percent to 43 percent, while Ms. Ernst had a one-point edge over Ms. Greenfield, 45 to 44.

A Republican strategist who works in Iowa and other states

said Mr. Trump's mishandling of the virus had put many G.O.P. officials at risk. “I do not want to understate the extent to which Trump is the driver here,” said the strategist, speaking on the condition that he not be named to protect his clients. “You have the worst of both worlds: Trump refuses to take ownership, punts to governors, but then makes very clear through words and actions what he considers to be acceptable.”

Monmouth's latest poll of the state found that more than three

wans, 47 percent, disapproved of Ms. Reynolds's handling of the pandemic, 15 percentage points worse than the number who disapproved in June. For the first time since Ms. Reynolds, 61, became governor in 2017, more Iowans said the state was on the wrong track than headed in the right direction, according to the poll.

The virus hit Iowa later than other states because the large rural population slowed community spread. In Jasper County east of Des Moines, a mostly rural area with a relatively low infection rate, many shoppers at a Walmart this week chose not to wear a mask, rejecting the greeter who offered them a free covering.

One who did wear a mask, David Richardson, said he was considering voting for a third-party candidate for president because he was put off by both Mr. Trump and Mr. Biden. The coronavirus “hasn't really affected anything for me,” said Mr. Richardson, who is 36.

A Trump supporter, Sarah Farrant, said the virus ranked behind other political concerns, such as nominating judges who oppose abortion.

“Maybe it's because we live in small-town America, but the virus hasn't really affected us,” said Ms. Farrant, 42. “We can't explore or have the freedom that we used to, but other than that, we're pretty good.”

Even so, she has embraced wearing a mask. “The mask was the biggest change in my life,” she said.

The president and a senator are locked in tight races.

in five voters 65 and older were worried a lot about the coronavirus outbreak. Other polls have found that support for Ms. Reynolds's handling of the virus declined sharply over the summer, as the number of new cases nearly doubled to about 1,000 a day.

The latest state data show hospitalizations at a record high and daily deaths reaching levels not seen since May. On Wednesday, 31 more deaths had been recorded over 24 hours and 534 Iowans were hospitalized with Covid-19, continuing a surge that began in early October.

A survey by The Des Moines Register and Mediacom in September showed a plurality of Io-

At 63 Million Viewers, Final Debate Is President’s Least Watched

By JOHN KOBLIN and MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM

Donald J. Trump has been a ratings magnet since he leapt into the presidential race in 2015, breaking Nielsen records for his debates against Republican primary opponents and, later, Hillary Clinton.

But his numbers in 2020 have taken a dip.

The final meeting on Thursday between Mr. Trump and his Democratic opponent, Joseph R. Biden Jr., had the smallest audience of the five general-election debates that Mr. Trump has participated in. Roughly 63 million people tuned in live, a drop of about 10.1 million from the candidates' opening debate last month.

In the pantheon of televised debates, Thursday's edition did not make the Top 10.

The matchup in Nashville, which featured a relatively subdued president trying to revive a flagging candidacy, ranked 17th on the debate ratings chart since 1976, when Nielsen began measuring total viewership numbers for the events. It narrowly beat the 62.7 million who watched the final debate between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford in 1976, 44 years ago to the day from Thursday's debate.

In the ratings drop on Thursday could stem from many causes: viewer backlash to the raucous first Biden-Trump debate, competition from an N.F.L. game, or attrition from a marathon-length presidential race nearing the finish line. (The first debate of the Democratic primary took place in June 2019.)

The ratings drop on Thursday could stem from many causes: viewer backlash to the raucous first Biden-Trump debate, competition from an N.F.L. game, or attrition from a marathon-length presidential race nearing the finish line. (The first debate of the Democratic primary took place in June 2019.)

Still, Mr. Trump is coming off another somewhat ominous rat-



Students in Haddonfield, N.J., watching Thursday's presidential debate. Roughly 63 million people tuned in live, a drop of about 10.1 million from the candidates' opening debate last month.

ings milestone: his unexpected Nielsen defeat last week to Mr. Biden in a battle of dueling network town-hall-style events. Mr. Trump lost in the ratings although his event was shown on NBC, CNBC and MSNBC, while Mr. Biden's appeared only on the ABC network.

Thursday's event in Nashville amounted to the president's final chance to make his case for reelection before a mass audience. Last week's town-hall events attracted only 28 million viewers, and another debate, scheduled earlier this month for Miami, was

called off after Mr. Trump objected to its virtual format.

Fox News drew the largest audience of any network on Thursday with 15.4 million viewers; the cable channel won the ratings race for the first Biden-Trump debate, as well. ABC and NBC — which aired prime-time coverage before the debate's 9 p.m. Eastern start time — came in second and third among the networks, with 11.2 million and 10.6 million viewers, respectively.

The Nielsen data released on Friday included people who

streamed the debate on their television screens, but not those who watched it solely on digital devices. There are still no widely accepted rating measures for the full digital audience.

The Nashville debate featured a newfangled microphone-muting scheme and a reined-in Mr. Trump, who took a calmer approach after his much-criticized performance against Mr. Biden last month. The moderator, Kristen Welker of NBC News, earned praise for her poised and firm approach to keeping the conversa-

A relatively sedate matchup that dipped in audience numbers.

tion running in an orderly fashion.

It was not long ago that Mr. Trump set audience records any time he stepped onto a debate stage.

His debut in a Republican primary debate, on Fox News in August 2015, still stands as the highest-rated nonsporting event in cable broadcast history, with an audience of 24 million viewers.

His first debate with Mrs. Clinton in 2016 drew 84 million viewers, setting a presidential forum record and beating the 80 million mark for Ronald Reagan's sole debate against Jimmy Carter in 1980.

Even Mr. Trump's chaotic battle with Mr. Biden last month notched 73.1 million viewers, making it the third-most-viewed presidential debate. Mr. Trump's final matchup with Mrs. Clinton in 2016 had 71.6 million viewers, the fourth-highest total.

Ratings for late-campaign debates tend to bounce around. The third and final debate between Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton drew more viewers than their second, but fewer than their first. The third debate between Barack Obama and Mitt Romney in 2012 was the least viewed of that cycle.

In the campaign years of 1984 and 1988 — when only two presidential debates were held — the final debates attracted the biggest audience.

State of the Race

The Week in Numbers

Joe Biden’s lead in national polling averages, including The Upshot’s, tapered ever so slightly this week — dipping just barely **below 10 percentage points** but seeming to hold steady there.

In national surveys released by both The New York Times/Siena College and Quinnipiac University, Mr. Biden led President Trump by **double digits** among the oldest voters as well as the youngest, a stark example of how he has scrambled the standard political calculus.

The Biden campaign reported far more money in the bank than the Trump campaign as of mid-October: **\$162 million to \$43.6 million**. The disparity was \$335 million to \$223 million when all party funds are included.

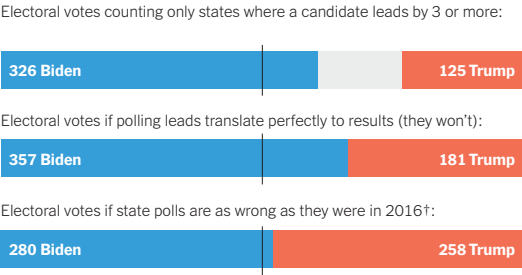
A Snapshot of Current Polling Averages

	POLLING LEADER	IF POLLS ARE AS WRONG AS THEY WERE IN...	
		2016	2012
United States	+9 Biden	+6	+12
New Hampshire	+10 Biden	+7	+14
Michigan	+8 Biden	+4	+13
Minnesota	+8 Biden	+1	+10
Nevada	+7 Biden	+8	+9
Nebraska 2*	+6 Biden	+8	+1
Wisconsin	+6 Biden	+1	+9
Pennsylvania	+6 Biden	<1	+7
Maine 2*	+4 Biden	+7	+9
Arizona	+4 Biden	+2	+2
Florida	+3 Biden	<1	+4
Iowa	+3 Biden	+5	+6
North Carolina	+2 Biden	+3	+2
Georgia	<1 Biden	+2	<1
Texas	+2 Trump	+4	+3
Ohio	+2 Trump	+9	+2

Estimates based on poll averages on Friday at 4:24 p.m. Eastern. Figures are rounded.

* In Maine and Nebraska, two electoral votes are apportioned to the winner of the state popular vote, and the rest of the electoral votes are given to the winner of the popular vote in each congressional district. (Maine has two congressional districts, and Nebraska has three.)

Exploring Electoral College Outcomes



† Poll error in 2016 is calculated using averages of state polls conducted within three weeks of Election Day.

Our poll averages include all polls collected by FiveThirtyEight. The estimates adjust for a variety of factors, including whether a poll represents likely voters, whether other polls have shifted since a poll was conducted, and whether a pollster has leaned toward one candidate in a state or nationwide. Polls are weighted by recency, sample size, and by whether they're conducted by a firm with a track record of success. Source for polls: FiveThirtyEight polling database.

NEWSLETTER: ON POLITICS

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A Trump rally in Gastonia, N.C., on Wednesday. The president plans more large events, hoping they’ll pull him over the finish line.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Tamer Trump May Have Showed Up Too Late

By ANNIE KARNI and ASTEAD W. HERNDON

President Trump did what his advisers wanted him to do at the debate on Thursday night, despite his lack of prep sessions: He didn’t interrupt former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., and he toned himself down. But with less than two weeks left in the race, and more than 42 million votes already cast in the election, the time for a reset that changes a race whose dynamics have not changed much since March is dwindling. The bulk of the conversation on the debate stage was still about the president’s handling of the coronavirus, where he offered little that was new.

He accepted responsibility for the 220,000 lives lost, while deflecting any blame, all in the same breath. “I take full responsibility, but China brought it here,” he said. “It’s not my fault.” He asserted that “2.2 million people modeled out were expected to die,” a claim he often repeats but for which there is no clear backing. Mr. Trump’s attempts to paint Mr. Biden as both corrupt and a Trojan horse of the left fell flat (“he thinks he’s running against someone else” Mr. Biden pushed back at one point). And the issue of law and order that the president wanted to elevate has dwindled in most parts of the country since a summer of protests.

Nearing the end of the race, Mr. Trump has not succeeded in making the election anything but a referendum on himself: his coronavirus response, his tone and his tweets.

Trump’s Endgame Plan: Rally the Base. Repeat.

In North Carolina this week, Mr. Trump appeared in Gaston County, a reliably Republican county outside of Charlotte that hasn’t had a visit from a general election candidate since President George Bush stopped there in 1992. In Florida, he visited The Villages, the nation’s largest retirement community, which used to be part of his core constituency of older voters. In Wisconsin next week, Mr. Trump is set to visit Waukesha, a county he won four years ago by his biggest margin in the state.

• **He’s working hard to hold on to what he has.** His rally schedule indicates that his campaign has essentially given up on the suburbs in some battleground states where he has been bleeding support. “Everything we’ve seen from Trump politically, he always goes back to his base,” said Doug Heye, a former communications director for the Republican National Committee.

• **Mr. Trump believes in his own magic.** The president is disregarding all Covid-19 guidelines and hosting large gatherings in states where the number of positive cases is rising. It is somewhat of a repeat of his endgame strategy in 2016, when his advisers told him he was not likely to win but he held rallies until the end of the race. He has since credited himself with pulling himself over the finish line. The difference this time is that there has yet to be any outside event — like James B. Comey, the former F.B.I. director, announcing new evidence related to the Hillary Clinton email investigation — to fundamentally alter the race.

• **His advisers think the ground**

game could still pull them through. While Democrats have relied more on digital advertising, the Trump campaign has been door-knocking aggressively. Campaign aides described the final weeks of the campaign as “white-knuckling it” until the end, and said that if a victory on Nov. 3 comes through, it will be because of organizers targeting voters aggressively in the battleground states, more than anything Mr. Trump himself is saying on-stage.

Don’t Read Too Much Into Early-Voting Tallies

It is a misnomer to think of Nov. 3 as Election Day. Millions of Americans have already voted, using methods like early voting or casting an absentee ballot by mail. In fact, amid the continued spread of coronavirus, most experts believe this presidential election will feature more Americans voting outside of the in-person ballot box than ever before.

That reality has led to some eye-catching early vote totals in several states. However, projecting early vote counts onto Elec-

tion Day results has been a pitfall of election analysis for years. Here are some things we know — and don’t know — based on the number of ballots that have already been cast.

• **Voter enthusiasm.** There is evidence that this presidential cycle will see increased turnout from four years ago. Several states have already broken early voting turnout records, including Georgia and North Carolina. In Texas, the populous Harris County is about to surpass its entire 2016 vote total in early voting alone — more than 1.3 million people. This comes as increased turnout has been a feature of elections in Mr. Trump’s presidency, from the midterms to down-ballot races. It speaks to a reality that has been true for Mr. Trump for years — he inspires fervent passion among his base but also significant resistance.

• **Beware of projecting.** Democrats are projected to have cast more ballots in the early voting process. This does not mean a Democratic victory is assured by Election Day, however, because both parties expect Mr. Trump’s backers to favor in-person ballot casting on Nov. 3. This is for several reasons, including that Democrats tend to live in more urban areas and have longer wait times. It is also because Mr. Trump and Republicans have railed against mail voting.

• **The system is holding.** Election observers’ worst fear was a voting system that could not handle the surge of activity and would fail. So far, the system has held up. In Georgia, initiatives such as converting a basketball arena into a socially distanced voting station have been a success. Election Day will provide the largest stress test of all, but the run-up has sent encouraging signs to election integrity officials.

Biden Campaign Adds Red States to Last Push

Mr. Biden’s campaign has a clear path to victory by flipping Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Florida and Michigan. However, the

campaign is increasingly hearing pleas from Democrats in states that were once considered long shots, such as Georgia, Texas, Iowa and Ohio.

Mr. Biden’s campaign, however, has long maintained that the race is closer than it appears in polling, and that it needed to conserve resources for must-win states. In recent days, however, some signs have pointed to a late-game push by Democrats into states that are considered surplus. In part, they are following the advice of some prominent Democrats and big donor groups, who have pleaded with Mr. Biden’s campaign that a big win is necessary to kick off a transformative presidency. Here’s what to know about the Biden campaign’s strategy in deep red states.

• **Don’t expect Biden himself.** Mr. Biden’s campaign has sent several surrogates to Georgia, Iowa, Ohio and Texas — including his running mate, Senator Kamala Harris of California. The campaign wants those states to feel engaged and supported. However, the campaign will remember how the Clinton campaign was mocked for caring more about harder-to-win states while neglecting the core battlegrounds.

• **They have the money.** Mr. Biden is raising eye-popping sums, entering the campaign’s final month with more than a quarter of a billion dollars on hand. The campaign can afford to keep up television advertisements in Georgia while mounting a blitz in Pennsylvania.

• **Senate control in the balance.** States like Georgia, Texas and Iowa may not be necessary for Mr. Biden to win the White House, but they are crucial to answering whether Democrats will be able to retake the Senate. Mr. Biden will be well aware of that importance, as much of former President Barack Obama’s agenda throughout his tenure was stymied by a Republican Senate that fought him at every turn. Senate races in Georgia, Texas and Iowa are polling at near statistical ties. As Mr. Biden keeps a presence in these states, it is also to help those down-ballot Democrats get over the line.

Also This Week

- College students can register to vote either at their campuses or in their hometowns, which leaves students with a strategic choice: Their votes might be more likely to make a difference in a battleground state or in a swing district.
- Disinformation is even more rampant this election cycle than it was in 2016. Colorado has set up a new initiative that will run ads on social media and expand digital outreach to help voters identify foreign misinformation. Very few states are following suit.



Waiting to vote early in Riverview, Fla., on Monday. More than 42 million ballots have already been cast across the country.

2020 Election

Tax Records Contradict Trump’s Claims of Charitable Donations

From Page A1

percent — \$3.2 million — came starting in 2015, when Mr. Trump’s philanthropy fell under scrutiny after he announced his White House bid. In 2017, his first year in office, he declared \$1.9 million in cash gifts. In 2014, by contrast, he contributed \$81,499.

And his first two land-easement donations were made in what the tax records show was a period of significant taxable income — 2005 and 2006, prime time for his reality TV fame.

The president’s Trump Organization biography says he is “involved with numerous civic and charitable organizations.” When he announced his campaign in 2015, he said he had given more than \$102 million to charity over the previous five years.

While it is possible that he chose not to report some of his giving, his tax records for 2010 to 2014 reflect far less than he claimed — \$735,238 in cash and \$26.8 million in land easements and other non-cash gifts. Six months into the campaign, in December 2015, another easement, valued at \$21.1 million, was completed.

In response to questions from The Times, Amanda Miller, a spokeswoman for the Trump Organization, said: “President Trump gives money privately. It’s impossible to know how much he’s given over the years.”

The tax information analyzed by The Times includes annual totals for business and individual giving but lists only certain corporate donations.

The single largest cash donation he reported for his businesses, made to his own foundation, was the \$400,000 he received in 2011 for being roasted on Comedy Central. In 2014, his Virginia winery contributed a glass sculpture valued at \$73,600 to a small historical society in Pennsylvania. And in 2016, another one of his



Donald J. Trump in 2006 donating land for a state park in Westchester and Putnam Counties.

companies gave \$30,000 to the American Hotel & Lodging Education Foundation.

Even without the details of Mr. Trump’s individual giving, The Times was able to identify public philanthropic promises that appear either to have been exaggerated or to have never materialized. In each case, the size of his pledge exceeded what he told the I.R.S. he had given in a particular year.

In 2009, for example, he agreed to rent his Seven Springs estate in Westchester County, N.Y., to the Libyan dictator Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, who hoped to stay in a tent on the grounds during a meeting of the United Nations General Assembly.

Though the plans fell apart when local residents objected, Colonel Qaddafi made a payment

of \$150,000, which Mr. Trump told CNN in 2011 that he had given to charity. His 2009 tax returns, however, reported only \$22,796 in business and personal cash gifts.

In 2015, Mr. Trump promised to donate the earnings from his book “Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again.”

“The profits of my book? I am giving them away to a lot of different — including the vets,” he said at a news conference.

The tax records show that Waxman Leavell Literary Agency, which represented Mr. Trump’s book, made two payments to him in 2015 and 2016, totaling roughly \$4.5 million. In those years, Mr. Trump reported giving a total of \$1.3 million in cash to charity.

Many wealthy individuals create their own foundations, often as a way to have greater control over

their philanthropy. While Mr. Trump’s foundation, started in 1988, gave millions to charity before shutting down in 2018, most of it was other people’s money. Mr. Trump himself donated \$5.4 million to the foundation, with the last contribution in 2008, according to the organization’s tax filings.

The majority of the president’s philanthropy, though, has consisted of his four land deals with conservation groups or the government.

His first easement donation, which yielded a tax deduction of \$39.1 million in 2005, involved a parcel of land at his golf club in Bedminster, N.J.

The next year, he donated 436 acres of land for a state park in Westchester and Putnam Counties in New York after development plans ran up against tough



SETH WENIG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

An easement donation in 2005, yielding a tax deduction of \$39.1 million, involved a parcel of land at his club in Bedminster, N.J.

regulatory restrictions. While the precise value of the easement is not clear, he reported noncash charitable contributions of \$34 million that year.

Mr. Trump had bought the property in the 1990s for \$2 million, according to numerous published reports. Today it is overgrown and has few facilities or visitors.

The two most recent easement deductions are being examined by the New York attorney general, Letitia James — part of a broader investigation into whether the Trump Organization inflated the value of assets to get loans and tax benefits.

In 2014, after abandoning plans to develop an 11.5-acre property being used as a driving range at his Los Angeles golf club, Mr. Trump received a \$25.1 million tax deduction for an easement agreement with a land conservancy. Few details of the inquiry into the deal have emerged.

Court papers shed more light on the other easement under investigation.

In late 2015, Mr. Trump got a

\$21.1 million tax break for 158.6 acres of land at the Seven Springs estate, after years of unsuccessful attempts to build a golf course on it.

The attorney general’s court filing says that after Mr. Trump abandoned plans to develop Seven Springs, he asked Sheri Dillon, a tax lawyer at Morgan Lewis who had advised him in the past, to have the land appraised.

Ms. Dillon told Cushman & Wakefield, the firm that did the appraisal, that “the client blew up at her,” and she leaned on the appraisers to take steps that would push the value up, according to the court filing.

Several weeks ago, after months of delays, Mr. Trump’s son Eric gave a deposition in the case.

Mr. Trump has denied any wrongdoing. “President Trump was not involved in the appraisals mentioned, which were done by the most respected appraisal and brokerage company in the country,” said Ms. Miller, the Trump Organization spokeswoman.

Candidates Hone Attacks, Seizing on Issues From Final Debate in Homestretch

By SYDNEY EMBER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

President Trump and Joseph R. Biden Jr. sought to amplify their closing arguments on Friday, with Mr. Biden returning to his core message that the president had botched the federal response to the coronavirus pandemic while Mr. Trump seized on a new opening, hammering Mr. Biden on his energy policy.

With just 11 days until Election Day, Mr. Trump unleashed a fusillade of attacks against Mr. Biden, who said during the debate in Nashville on Thursday that he would push the country to “transition away from the oil industry” and end federal subsidies.

“One of the most stunning moments last night was when Joe Biden admitted that he wants to abolish the oil industry,” Mr. Trump said, exaggerating Mr. Biden’s position, during a rally at The Villages retirement community in Central Florida. “That could be one of the worst mistakes made in presidential debate history.”

Later at a rally in Pensacola, Mr. Trump again sought to highlight Mr. Biden’s comment about the oil industry at the debate, saying it should cost him “five or six states” in the election.

Earlier in the day during a speech near his home in Wilmington, Del., Mr. Biden focused his attention on the coronavirus, vowing more aggressive federal action for the “dark winter” ahead — a phrase he also used during the debate. He also denounced Mr. Trump’s assertion that the pandemic was “going away” even as cases surge across the country.

Arguing that the coronavirus “isn’t showing any signs of slowing down,” Mr. Biden placed blame for the rising death toll squarely at Mr. Trump’s feet, repeating with a tone of incredulity Mr. Trump’s comments earlier in the week that he would do “not much” differently regarding the pandemic if he were given the opportunity for a do-over.

“As many as 210,000 avoidable deaths, and there’s not much he would do differently?” Mr. Biden said. “If this is a success, what’s a failure look like?”

During his speech, Mr. Biden did not address his debate-stage remarks about the oil industry. But his campaign spent the hours following the debate performing cleanup, after Mr. Trump — sensing the chance to gain an edge in swing states with energy-heavy industries — pounced on the former vice president’s comments and invoked a series of electoral battlegrounds, including Texas and Pennsylvania.

Speaking to reporters late on Thursday night at the Nashville airport, Mr. Biden himself tried to clarify his remarks, saying, “We’re getting rid of the subsidies



JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Watching the final presidential debate in San Francisco on Thursday night. With just 11 days left till Election Day, the candidates hit the trail in earnest Friday.

for fossil fuels, but we’re not getting rid of fossil fuels for a long time.”

Senator Kamala Harris, Mr. Biden’s running mate, picked up the baton on Friday and also insisted that Mr. Biden was referring to his pledge to eliminate oil subsidies.

“The president likes to put everything out of context,” she said. “But let’s be clear: What Joe was talking about was banning subsidies, but he will not ban fracking.”

Advisers to Mr. Trump were drilled with the president’s debate performance, and they hoped that he would be able to sustain something approximating discipline into the remaining days. But they conceded that even with that, there may simply not be enough time for Mr. Trump to change his fortunes.

With the presidential race hurtling into the final stretch, the dueling events underscored how Mr. Trump and Mr. Biden have doubled down on their campaign themes and approaches as they

press sharply divergent visions for the country.

At his rally at The Villages, Mr. Trump hurled insults at Mr. Biden, played a video of the former vice president debating Senator Bernie Sanders in the Democratic primary, and said that the country did not want a socialist president — “especially a female socialist president,” he said. That was a reference to Mr. Biden’s running mate, Ms. Harris, whom Mr. Trump and Republicans have falsely portrayed as a far-left radical who will dominate a Biden presidency.

At one point, Mr. Trump misleadingly presented voters with “a choice between optimism, patriotic vision for American success” and what he described as Mr. Biden’s “gloomy vision.”

“All he talks about is Covid, Covid, Covid. Because they want to scare people,” Mr. Trump said. And on a day when the number of new cases of the coronavirus in the country hit a record, he declared “We’ve done so well with

it.”

Mr. Trump also returned to some of his favorite grievances, mocking the media and complaining that he is not treated fairly. He made a point of saying President Barack Obama’s full name, “accussuating his middle name, ‘Hussein,’ and crediting the conservative radio host and provocateur Rush Limbaugh with doing it first.

During an Oval Office event earlier in the day announcing a peace deal between Israel and Sudan, with the Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, on the phone, the president asked Mr. Netanyahu if he thought “Sleepy Joe” could have accomplished such a deal. Mr. Netanyahu paused before saying his country welcomes help from any American, moving cautiously so as not to risk insulting Mr. Biden.

The campaign events came one day after the two men met on the debate stage for the second and final time in a clash that was on the whole more restrained than their

chaotic debate three weeks ago.

Aiming to build momentum, both candidates have campaign stops scheduled for the weekend in key battleground states, with Mr. Biden heading to two counties in Pennsylvania on Saturday, and Mr. Trump holding a flurry of rallies in North Carolina, Ohio, Wisconsin and New Hampshire over the weekend.

At his own event, Mr. Biden, lobbed familiar barbs at Mr. Trump regarding the coronavirus, but also articulated the values underpinning the central argument of his campaign. In a particularly pointed moment, he vowed not to “let four years of Donald Trump rob us of the most fundamental American qualities: our hope in the future and our faith in ourselves.”

And in a clear departure from Mr. Trump, who reiterated at both of his rallies that the country was “rounding the corner” on the pandemic, Mr. Biden laid out the immediate steps he would take to rein in the coronavirus if elected.

They included reaching out to every governor, as well as mayors and local officials, during the transition period, to “find out what support they need and how much of it they need.” He said he would ask Congress to put a bill on his desk by the end of January outlining the resources needed for the country’s public health and economic response to the virus.

Mr. Biden also said he would ask every governor to institute a mask mandate in their states; if they refused, he said, he would work with local officials to get mandates in place. And he said he would impose a national mask mandate in federal buildings and on interstate transportation.

Once again connecting the future of the Affordable Care Act to the Supreme Court battle, Mr. Biden warned that overturning the health law would mean people would have to pay for a potential coronavirus vaccine and vowed to make it free for everyone.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ELIZABETH FRANTZ/REUTERS

Senator Susan Collins of Maine is in a tough fight for re-election as some voters say that she and the Republican Party have changed.

Peril for Collins as Maine Loses Political Center

From Page A1

alienated Democrats here and beyond by voting to confirm Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh. She has become a national punchline among liberals for what they see as her toothless tut-tutting of President Trump, whom she is invariably “concerned” about. And she’s been out-raised \$63 million to \$25 million by her Democratic opponent, Sara Gideon, the speaker of the State House.

Ms. Collins’s biggest problem this year, however, may not be Ms. Gideon or the out-of-state donors eager to send her a message, but rather the shifting ground under her feet.

She is confronting a state, sharply cleaved by region and class, that would have been politically unrecognizable to her predecessors; an increasingly alien party overtaken by a president who demands unflinching loyalty; and, perhaps most daunting of all, a polarized political culture that elevates tribalism and national issues over the bipartisanship and pork-barreling that she has always pursued.

“I don’t know if people respond as well to that anymore,” conceded former Senator William S. Cohen of Maine, a moderate Republican whom Ms. Collins succeeded in the Senate after working for him as a young staff member. “Therein lies the challenge of being somebody in the middle.”

Ms. Collins is the only Republican senator on the ballot this year who has not endorsed Mr. Trump.

In an interview on her campaign bus, she acknowledged momentarily considering running this year as an independent — “it crossed my mind,” she said — but was quick to note that she couldn’t easily abandon “the New England brand of Republicanism.”

It’s a dying breed. Ms. Collins is the only remaining Republican member of Congress from New England.

Equally endangered, though, are any senators who can win re-election when their party’s nominee is soundly defeated in the state. Mr. Trump is expected to be competitive only in Maine’s Second Congressional District, which he won in 2016, and even there polls suggest that Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic nominee, has an edge.

In 1984, when Ronald Reagan won a 49-state landslide, Democrats still netted two Senate seats. And even as recently as 2008, Republicans like Ms. Collins were winning re-election in blue states while Democratic senators were cruising in red ones like South Dakota and West Virginia.

By 2016, though, the results of every Senate race mirrored the state’s preference in the presidential race.

Now Ms. Collins is no more likely to outrun Mr. Trump by 20 points, as she did John McCain in 2008, than Maine is to embrace crab over lobster as its crustacean of choice.

Her argument, though, is that there are exceptions to this era of polarization, and that well-known lawmakers in lightly populated states can overcome the partisan tide. Senators Jon Tester of Montana and Joe Manchin III of West Virginia, for example, both won as Democrats in Republican-leaning states just two years ago.

“There’s a lot of parallels,” Ms. Collins said. “I still believe that most voters want problems solved and that they’re put off by this us-against-them tribalism.”

Listening to Ms. Collins kick off her statewide bus tour in Bangor was like stepping into a political



Ms. Collins is confronting a new electoral map and trying to bridge gaps between a pro-Trump inland and blue coastal areas.

time machine.

She drew applause after trumpeting her record as the most bipartisan senator, noted that she had never missed a floor vote and bragged about the federal dollars she had delivered for new breakwaters in small communities.

Then she delivered the finale: “With your help, when I’m re-elected, a year later I become the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee,” she announced.

The pitch resonated with some supporters, but even they were self-aware about the dated nature of Ms. Collins’s appeal.

“I guess I’m a dinosaur in that I appreciate her centrist views and also I appreciate that she’s been doing this a long time and has ranking positions on a lot of important committees,” said Janna Jensen of nearby Brewer. “I don’t know how many people value that.”

A New York Times-Siena College survey last month pointed to the limitations of localism — and that was before the death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg elevated the Supreme Court and issues like abortion rights.

Fifty percent of Mainers said national issues, like which party controls the Senate, were most important to their Senate vote, while 41 percent said local matters, such as who can do more for Maine, were paramount.

A Rhode Island native, as Ms. Collins delights in noting, Ms. Gideon has made health care the centerpiece of her campaign, even more than Ms. Collins’s vote on Justice Kavanaugh.

During her time in the Legislature, the Democrat pushed to expand Medicaid in the state, clashing with former Gov. Paul LePage, a Republican, on the issue.

As much as any individual policy issue, though, Ms. Gideon’s core message is that a vote for Ms. Collins is a vote to keep Republicans in control of the Senate.

“As long as Susan Collins is elected again to the United States Senate, Mitch McConnell will again likely be the Senate majority leader,” Ms. Gideon told attendees at a supper near Lewiston last month.

She repeated a version of that line in a brief interview afterward, and grew slightly defensive when that was pointed out.

“I don’t walk around talking about Mitch McConnell all the time,” she said, before retreating to a talking point about what Mainers focus on “when they sit down at their kitchen table.”

Yet Ms. Gideon was more candid at the end of the conversation,

when asked if she was happy with the Senate contest’s becoming nationalized.

“We are where we are in this country,” she said.

And Ms. Collins is where she is, in the dwindling middle between a party that loves Mr. Trump and one that loathes him.

The most frequently heard criticism of her is that she has changed, and has betrayed her moderate roots. Ms. Gideon has encouraged this sentiment and, when asked what she had in mind, cited Ms. Collins’s support for the 2017 Republican tax cuts.

Yet Ms. Collins also supported George W. Bush’s similarly high-end tax cuts, just as she backed his nominees to the Supreme Court.

What Maine voters often mean when they say Ms. Collins has

A senator who has alienated Democrats and who is criticized by the president.

changed, though, is that the Republican Party has changed — and by that they mean Mr. Trump.

“The party has moved right,” said Carl Bucciantini, a retired teacher who came to hear Ms. Gideon. “It was conservative under Reagan, conservative under the Bushes and now it’s just crazy.”

Ms. Collins continues to dodge the question of how she’ll vote for president, but she said last month that she would probably avoid Mr. Trump if he campaigned in Maine.

In the same interview, conducted before the death of Justice Ginsburg, Ms. Collins said she would oppose filling a Supreme Court vacancy in October. Since the senator reaffirmed that view after Justice Ginsburg’s death, Mr. Trump has repeatedly criticized Ms. Collins.

“I think that Susan Collins is going to be hurt very badly — her people aren’t going to take this,” the president predicted in September, before heckling her on Twitter last week for opposing the hasty court nomination.

Pressed as to why she never fully broke with Mr. Trump the same way that her heroine, former Maine Senator Margaret Chase Smith, had confronted Joseph McCarthy, Ms. Collins recalled that she had helped torpedo the effort to repeal the Affordable Care Act and parted ways with the

president on issues like his attempt to use military money for a border wall.

“I have had so many Margaret Chase Smith moments,” she said.

The more persuasive answer, though, came from a supporter at the bus tour introduction who loathes Mr. Trump but said Ms. Collins was caught in a political vise.

“She can’t,” said the supporter, Kathy Anderson, when asked why Ms. Collins wouldn’t condemn Mr. Trump. “Look at the demographics here.”

Maine has always been split between its more affluent coastline and its blue-collar interior. But the political and social gap has widened even further in recent years.

“A lot of the people down here are more connected to Napa Valley than they are Penobscot Valley,” said John Baldacci, a former Democratic governor of the state, who grew up in Bangor and now works in Portland.

The influx of transplants along the Maine coast and the migration of working-class whites into the Republican Party under Mr. Trump and Mr. LePage, who called himself “Trump before Trump,” have upended the state’s politics.

Perhaps most significant, and for Ms. Collins most threatening, Mr. LePage’s consecutive plurality victories prompted Maine to enact ranked-choice voting. In this system, voters rank their preference on the ballot so that those who receive few first-place votes are eliminated and the eventual winner garners a majority.

This means that the votes of those supporting a liberal independent candidate, Lisa Savage, can ultimately go to Ms. Gideon if Ms. Savage’s backers list Ms. Gideon as their second choice.

It’s a significant shift in a state with a long tradition of independence.

Maine has elected two unaffiliated governors in the last half-century and in 1992 handed Ross Perot more than 30 percent of the vote, his best showing of any state. Now, though, it has the same red-and-blue divide as the rest of the country — and the old outlines of its political map have been redrawn.

Republicans used to run up some of their best margins in wealthy enclaves along the Atlantic, while Democrats consistently fared best in immigrant-heavy and union-organized mill towns further inland.

Maps from the last two major elections, the 2016 presidential contest and the 2018 governor’s race, reveal a near-unbroken stretch of Democratic blue up the Atlantic Coast from Kittery to Bar Harbor.

There are effectively two states — one working class and more pro-Trump, and the other more upscale and deeply contemptuous of the president — that Ms. Collins must bridge.

They can be seen in the Trump lawn signs sprouting up across inland Maine and the ubiquity of Biden signs nearly anywhere salt-water is in the air.

Back on Ms. Collins’s bus, she concluded an interview by recalling that in 2008 she “only lost eight communities in the entire state.”

But once she stepped into the office of an oil heating company to address employees, she returned to the present.

“The country is so polarized and Maine is, too, unfortunately,” Ms. Collins said.

Ocasio-Cortez Is Raising Big Money for a Contest She’s Almost Sure to Win

By JEFFERY C. MAYS

All the money in the world is not likely to influence the outcome of Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez’s re-election bid in November.

But that has not stopped people from trying: The contest has improbably become the second most expensive House race in the country.

Money has been pouring in from all sides. Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, a New York Democrat, has raised \$17.3 million, much of it from small donors attracted to her star power, progressive policies and outsize social media presence.

Her Republican challenger, John Cummings, a 60-year-old former schoolteacher at St. Raymond High School for Boys in the Bronx and a former officer for the New York Police Department, has collected \$9.6 million in his first bid for office.

His campaign war chest exceeds all but a dozen or so House incumbents. He has a donor list any fund-raiser would envy. And over the last three-month reporting period, Mr. Cummings actually took in more money than Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, raising \$5.5 million to her roughly \$4 million.

The contest is such a magnet for money that even Michelle Caruso-Cabrera, a former CNBC anchor who lost to Ms. Ocasio-Cortez in the Democratic primary but will be on the ballot representing the Serve America Movement, has raised \$2.4 million and lent her campaign another \$1 million.

The torrent of donations is the latest example of how Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, 31, has become a draw for Republican candidates to seek donors based off resentment of her.

“I guarantee you 75 percent of his contributors don’t know anything about him,” Tom Doherty, a Republican strategist, said of Mr. Cummings. “I don’t know anything about him except that he’s running against A.O.C. The people that are interested in that race financially are giving because it’s A.O.C.”

The big-money contest is also a reflection of how a spotlight race can fuel millions of dollars to favored political strategists and causes, sometimes far removed from the actual candidates.

Mr. Cummings has made heavy digital and cable advertising buys, blanketing his district, which covers parts of Queens and the Bronx, and even some areas outside it. He has hired consultants like Lincoln Strategy Group, an Arizona-based firm whose founder, Nathan Sproul, a longtime Republican operative, has faced fraud accusations over the years.

Mr. Cummings has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on mailers, hiring Big Dog Strategies, whose clients include the Congressional Leadership Fund, a super PAC dedicated to helping Republicans win a majority in the House, and America First Action, a pro-Trump super PAC.

He has also hired Smart Media Group, a Virginia firm that works closely with the National Republican Senatorial Committee, to handle multiple six-figure media ad buys and placements.

The campaign spent \$560,000 on Facebook ads over the last three months, according to Facebook’s ad library, a public database of all ads on its platform. An overwhelming majority of the campaign’s contributors are from outside of New York.

“Long term, this race doesn’t help you build the party that I think we need,” Mr. Doherty said. “That’s not a race that we’re going to win, but that’s where we are at in American politics today.”

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez has also spent heavily on Facebook ads, buying \$1.6 million worth in the last 90 days. Part of the ad buy is geared toward building her own small-donor network to avoid having to rely on Facebook, which Ms. Ocasio-Cortez has criticized for

not fact-checking political advertisements, according to her campaign.

She has also spent campaign funds to support an effort to get New Yorkers to fill out the census and to distribute meals to New Yorkers struggling financially because of the pandemic. One digital advertisement Ms. Ocasio-Cortez ran about census participation in September had 2.1 million views.

“We ensure that our fund-raising yields real investments into the community beyond transactional politicking,” said Lauren Hitt, a spokeswoman for Ms. Ocasio-Cortez.

Just in the last two weeks, Mr. Cummings’s campaign has spent more than \$2.4 million, while Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s campaign spent \$614,000.

Mr. Cummings has used his ads to introduce himself to voters as someone who has lived and worked in the Bronx for decades, suggesting that Ms. Ocasio-Cortez was an outsider who attended schools in Westchester County. He criticized her for opposing Amazon locating a second headquarters in Queens.

Mr. Cummings is trying to appeal to moderate Democrats, whom he calls “Joe Crowley Democrats,” a reference to the former high-ranking Democratic leader whom Ms. Ocasio-Cortez defeated in an upset primary victory in 2018.

“She has done an unbelievable

Recruiting national donors based off resentment toward the congresswoman.

job of creating a national persona for herself but has neglected the district,” Mr. Cummings said in an interview.

Chapin D. Fay, Mr. Cummings’s campaign manager, acknowledged that an upset was still unlikely, given the district’s overwhelmingly Democratic composition, but he suggested that his candidate’s fund-raising totals underscored how polarizing Ms. Ocasio-Cortez is among voters.

“I just sensed that national fund-raising against someone like A.O.C. would be successful,” Mr. Fay said. “I can’t take credit for knowing it was going to be this successful, but we knew he would be able to put a few bucks together to run a race.”

Mr. Fay, who previously served as the press secretary and director of public affairs for Gov. George E. Pataki, has also benefited from the flow of donations. Lighthouse Public Affairs, a company founded by Mr. Fay, collected tens of thousands of dollars for managing the campaign and handling local media buys.

Mr. Cummings, who said he supports President Trump and defended his much criticized response to the coronavirus pandemic, has not focused on the president, who is deeply unpopular in his hometown.

He said he plans to continue meeting voters on the street until Election Day because he believes there may be a local undercurrent of dissatisfaction with Ms. Ocasio-Cortez.

“They dislike her, they dislike what the hard left stands for and they appreciate what I’m doing,” he said. “If we close strong, I think we can pull this race off.”

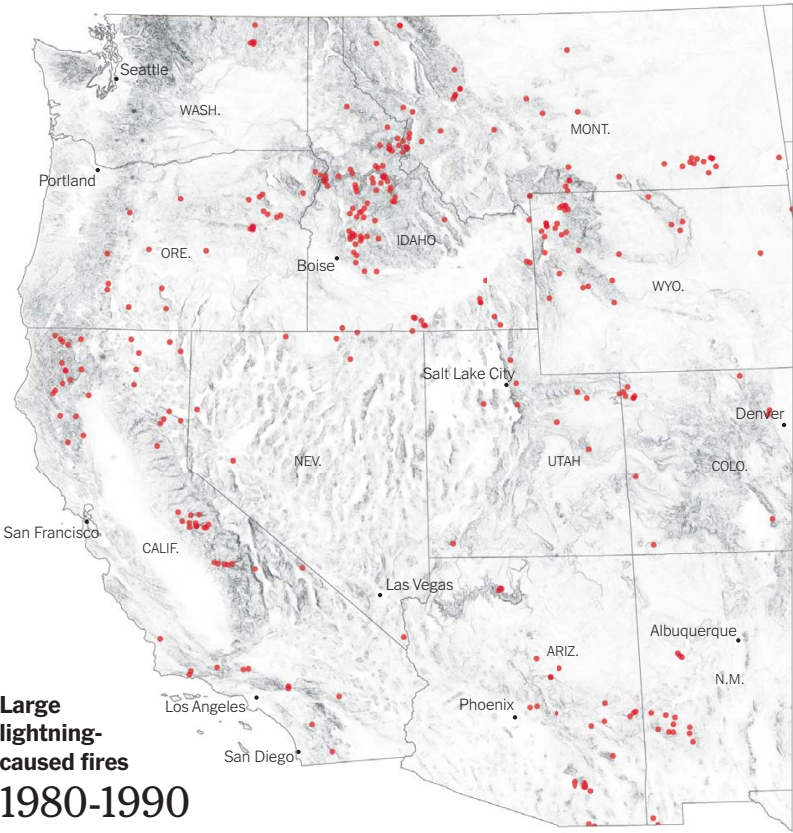
Mr. Cummings said he has requested a debate but does not expect his opponent to agree to one. Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s campaign said it had received one last-minute debate invitation from a “third party moderator,” but she was committed elsewhere.

“To be fair,” Mr. Cummings said, “no one wants to debate a high school civics teacher.”



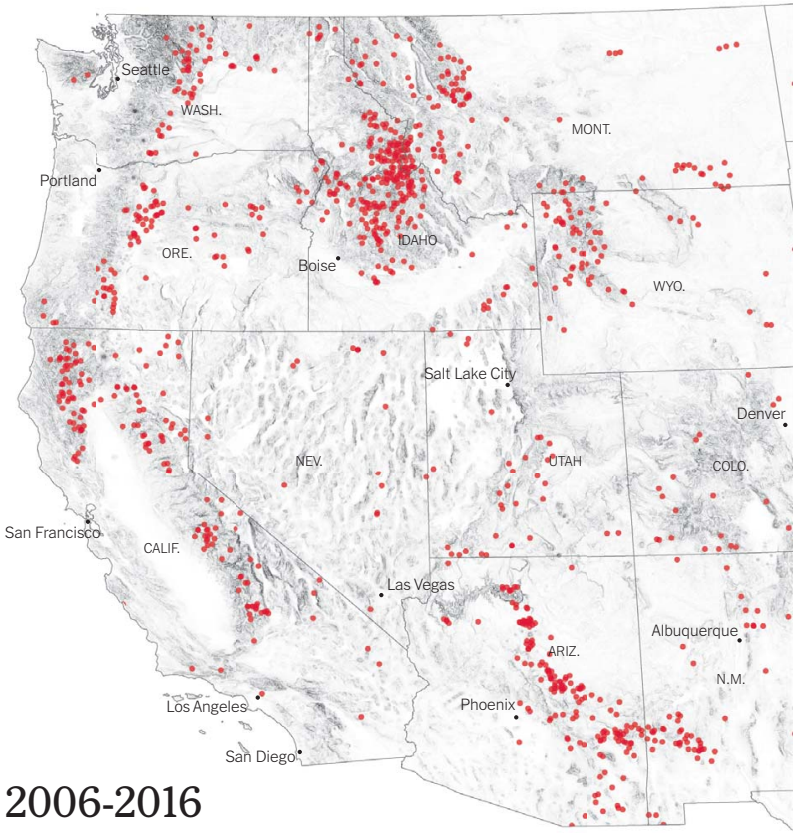
GABRIELA BHASKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez has raised \$17.3 million, making it the second most expensive House race.



Large lightning-caused fires 1980-1990

The federal data set spans 1980 to 2016. To account for different fire detection and reporting practices over time, data was filtered to include only large fires — those that burned 1,000 or more acres — which are less likely to go unreported. Source: U.S.G.S. Federal Wildland Fire Occurrence Data



2006-2016

VERONICA PENNEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Giant Fires, Sparked by Lightning, ‘That Can Start Anywhere’

By JOHN SCHWARTZ and VERONICA PENNEY

Wildfires in the West caused by lightning have been growing bigger and occurring more frequently. If the weather extremes already brought by climate change are any indication, other parts of the country will start paying a price, too.

Wildfires have burned across much of the West in 2020, with enormous blazes raging across swaths of California, Washington, Oregon and now Colorado. While this year’s intense lightning storms in California could prove to be an anomaly, research suggests that lightning is an increasingly common cause of large blazes, and that climate change may cause an increase in lightning strikes over the continental United States in coming decades.

Human activity causes the majority of wildfires, whether through downed power lines, accidentally thrown sparks or arson, but by some measures, the effect of lightning on wildfires is disproportionately large. According to the U.S. Forest Service’s wildfire database, 44 percent of wildfires across the Western United States were triggered by lightning, but those were responsible for 71 percent of the area burned between 1992 and 2015, the most recent data available.

Park Williams, a fire expert at the Lamont-Doherty Earth Observatory, has found that between 1992 and 2015 there was a nearly fivefold increase in Western forest

area burned after lightning started a fire, versus a twofold increase for fires started by humans. “The fires that have been getting bigger tend, more often than not, to be lightning-induced,” Dr. Williams said.

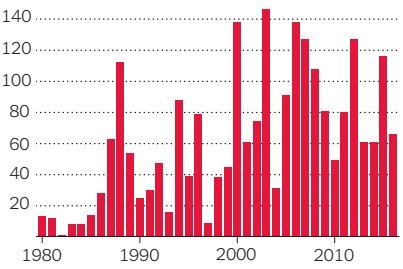
“Lightning fires, they can start anywhere,” said Tyree Zander, a spokesman for Cal Fire who has worked on the LNU Lightning Complex disaster. Lightning fire in particular, he said, “has its own little mind — it creates its own story.”

For one thing, wildfires caused by humans tend to happen close to where people live and can often be dealt with quickly. However, lightning-caused fires can strike in inaccessible wilderness areas and can spread rapidly before a strong response can be put in place.

Researchers and the public tend to focus more on fires caused by people. Lightning as a source “is being ignored in a lot of the public discourse on the topic right now,” said John Abatzoglou, an associate professor in management of complex systems at the University of California, Merced. “We want to personify these fires. We want to blame somebody. But lightning doesn’t have a face.”

Climate change is a major factor in the growing impact of lightning strikes, because these areas of the West are becoming more dried out. A lightning fire that might not have spread so quickly decades ago leaps across the landscape of dry vegetation.

Number of large lightning-caused fires in the West



The charts reflect data for large fires across 11 Western states: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.

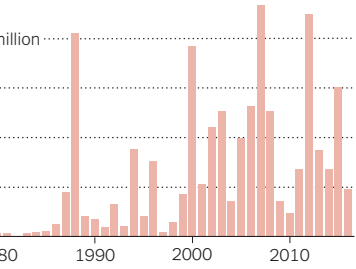
Source: U.S.G.S. Federal Wildland Fire Occurrence Data

Looking at the unusually hot weather in California and its effect on vegetation and burning, David Romps, a scientist at UC Berkeley, cited the burning of fossil fuels that is heating up the planet. “This is all, of course, because of global warming,” he said.

The electrical storms in California that sparked so many fires this summer involved what are known as “dry lightning,” arcs, accompanied by little to none of the rain that can help keep fires from getting out of hand. But even conventional, rainy thunderstorms can lead to fires, said Neil Lareau, a professor of physics at the University of Nevada, Reno. If the rain is brief, it “doesn’t do anything to really change the state of the vegetation,” he said.

Climate change may bring more lightning in coming decades. By the end of the century, if hu-

Acres burned by lightning-caused fires



VERONICA PENNEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

manity doesn’t slash greenhouse gas emissions to fight climate change, “we might expect to get 50 percent more lightning,” said Dr. Romps, the director of the Berkeley Atmospheric Sciences Center, who published a paper on the topic in 2014. “We don’t necessarily know what that means for wildfire, but we can make an educated guess,” he said.

Dr. Romps stressed that 50 percent more lightning does not mean 50 percent more fire, since not all lightning strikes places that are prone to ignite. Still, he added, a warming world with so much flammable vegetation “makes it more likely for a fire to start, regardless of what the ignition source is, and that makes it easier for that fire to spread.”

Other researchers studying the potential effects of climate change on lightning and using different

computer models have suggested a less dramatic future. A 2018 paper even suggested a reduction of lightning by some 12 percent worldwide, with the greatest effect in the tropics. But even that research found a slight increase in lightning over the continental United States.

Getting a handle on what effect climate change might have on lightning is daunting and complex, said Lee T. Murray, an assistant professor of Earth and Environmental Sciences at the University of Rochester. Some 10 to 20 different conditions that are currently correlated with lightning flashes could be expected to change in the future, he said, and climate change could affect any of them.

“At present we don’t know which will win out,” he said. But NASA satellites are now monitor-

ing the flashes with precision, he added, and will be able to set the baseline for future observations. “This is going to be a game changer for understanding lightning variability going into the future.”

Whatever effect climate change has on the frequency of lightning, climate change will continue to load the dice for more fire in the West, said Nina S. Oakley, a research scientist at the Center for Western Weather and Water Extremes at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, University of California, San Diego.

“Even if there were no changes in lightning frequency, the impact of warmer and drier conditions associated with climate change help make lightning more effective at igniting wildfires,” she said. “With drier vegetation, there is a greater likelihood of a lightning strike igniting a fire, and greater opportunity for that fire to grow.”

And not just in the West. Warmer temperatures and drought are expected to reach other parts of the country as warming continues. Recent research suggests that combinations of extreme heat and drought that could make lush forests more prone to fire are occurring together more frequently — not just in the American West, but also in the Northeastern and Southeastern United States, as well.

As Craig Allen, a research ecologist with the U.S. Geological Survey, put it, wildfire could be “coming soon to a landscape near you. Wherever you are.”

As a Seemingly Endless Wildfire Season Rages On, Colorado Prays for Snow

By CHARLIE BRENNAN and JACK HEALY

GRANBY, Colo. — “Pray for snow,” is the refrain every autumn across Colorado’s high country as people wait for blizzards to blanket ski slopes, recharge reservoirs and bring in the wintertime tourists.

But on Friday, people were praying for the snow to save their homes. It was their only hope for relief from a spree of late-season wildfires that have choked skies with smoke and sent thousands fleeing, a grim coda to a year of relentless, record-setting wildfires.

Across the West, wildfires are now burning later into the fall — and even wintertime — as climate change turns seasonal wildfires into a year-round menace by disrupting rainfall patterns, melting snow earlier and scorching meadows and lodgepole pine forests into tinder. The result is shaping not just the states’ geography and daily life but people’s psychology and basic sense of where they live.

“It’s crazy, just crazy,” said Mike Diets, who spent Friday trying to find out if his two lakeside houses in drought-stricken Grand County were still standing. “It’s hunting season. We’d usually be wading through snow this time of year.”

Even with a blizzard forecast to bring moisture to the Rocky Mountains by Sunday, fire crews in Northern Colorado spent another grueling day on Friday battling 60 mile-an-hour wind gusts and trying to get control of the East Troublesome fire. The 188,000-acre wildfire has destroyed an unknown number of homes as it roared through ranches, lakeside resorts and Rocky Mountain National Park.

Across Colorado’s mountain towns, people who have been choking on smoke for months and now sleep with “go bags” packed in their cars have been asking: When will it end?

“It’s like Armageddon,” said Jacquelyn Evanich, who watched three huge wildfires burning this week from the office window of the motel she manages in the town of Granby, on the edge of the East Troublesome fire. “We’ve been around fires all year, it feels like.”

In a year when blazes have ravaged the West, fire season is not over, particularly in California, where 4 million acres have burned. Large swaths of Northern California, including the San Francisco Bay Area, are bracing for what meteorologists are calling the most severe fire weather of the year, with wind gusts projected as high as 70 miles an hour Sunday through Wednesday.

Some 5,500 firefighters are still working to contain the megafires that ignited in August and September, including the Creek fire, which started on Labor Day weekend and is still burning through the Sierra Nevada southeast of Yosemite National Park. It was 61 percent contained on Friday and continues to produce large amounts of smoke.

The state’s largest electricity provider, Pacific Gas & Electric, has announced plans to turn off power to thousands of households to prevent their equipment from sparking new fires. With most students in the Bay Area studying online, schools in affected areas were scrambled on Friday to develop alternative plans for households without power.

In Colorado, Sheriff Brett Schroetlin of Grand County said the East Troublesome fire was changing unpredictably, hour by hour, making it difficult to tell residents whether their property had survived or was in danger.

Evacuees uncertain when they will have a home have spent days trying to glean scraps of information by listening to radio scanners, poring over satellite images and scouring Facebook

pages for photos or videos of their neighborhoods.

The toll came into focus on Friday for one family.

Relatives of Lyle and Marilyn Hileman, a couple in their 80s, said they believed the Hilemans had died after taking refuge in a concrete closet in their basement as fire swept through their home near the town of Grand Lake.

To the Hilemans and other residents, Grand County was a Rocky Mountain paradise, a place rooted in ranching that has seen an influx of second homeowners and wealthy vacationers who come to fly-cast and teach their children to ride horseback.

The Hilemans had planned to ride out the fire in the big yellow house that they had built themselves, and where their extended family always gathered. Glenn Hileman, one of their five children, said his mother called him on Wednesday night to say that “the big one” was closing in and that Meadows were already ablaze. But they decided to stay.

“There’s no way they would have left,” Glenn Hileman said.

There were flurries of conflicting posts on neighborhood social media groups about whether the couple had made it out as the fire grew by 100,000 acres. Firefighters told the family they had tried to take a bulldozer up to the house to reach them, but were blocked by fallen trees and flames. On Friday, family members said they had gotten confirmation from local authorities that the Hilemans’ house had been incinerated.

“They’ve never been apart, ever,” Glenn Hileman said. “I don’t think either of them could’ve had an idea of leaving this world apart. They were going to survive it together or they were not. Either way, they were going to do it together.”

Sheriff Schroetlin said at a briefing on Friday that he could



CHET STRANGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Residents evacuated through Fraser, Colo., as plumes from the 188,000-acre East Troublesome Fire rose over the horizon.

not could not confirm any deaths.

A granddaughter, Stephanie Hileman, recalled her 86-year-old grandfather, a retired Denver firefighter, as a jokester who rose before dawn to plow snow or build fences on the property he loved and spent nearly 50 years cultivating. She said her 84-year-old grandmother was a “Wonder Woman” who had worked in a mental-health facility and kept an ever-growing collection of 40 candy bowls out for guests.

“It was heartbreaking,” Stephanie Hileman said.

Firefighters are now in a race with nature, trying to limit the fire’s spread and its toll as a wintry system is expected to move into Colorado’s high country Saturday night with rain changing to heavy snow by Sunday. Sunday night’s temperatures in the Grand Lake area are forecast to plunge to 7 below, and forecasters expect up to a foot of snow.

Evan Drenzo, a meteorologist at the National Weather Service in Boulder, where firefighters have now largely contained two fires

that erupted this past weekend, said even a thick quilt of snow might not quench the fires.

“They can just simmer under there for a long time,” he said, recalling how the Cameron Peak Fire burning north of Rocky Mountain National Park had survived an early-September blizzard. “People were going out and digging under the snow and there was fire under it. It was just chilling, waiting to come back.”

Jennifer Balch, a fire scientist, said it was unusual to discuss hopes that a snowstorm will put down a forest fire. But she said the late-season fire conditions offered a clear signal of climate change.

“I don’t think we have ever talked about, ‘What is the amount of snow that we need to put out the fire season, to quench the fire season,’” said Ms. Balch, director of the Earth Lab at the University of Colorado in Boulder. “We essentially have summer running into winter and we’ve skipped the fall.”

Fire ecologists and forecasters say the moisture levels in dead trees and other vegetation are at

record lows while measurements that predict the speed of fires and height of their flames are at record highs. The entire state is in a drought, and Grand County is locked in extreme or exceptional drought — the most severe classifications.

“In the last 30 years, this has been the driest growing season, by far,” said Klaus Wolter, a climatologist at the University of Colorado’s Cooperative Institute for Research in Environmental Sciences.

He said conditions are worse than in 2002, a notorious year in Colorado for wildfires when the Hayman Fire northwest of Colorado Springs scorched more than 138,000 acres and 133 homes.

For years, the Hayman stood as the largest recorded wildfire in state history, but it has now been overtaken by three mega-fires that erupted this year alone. The largest and second-largest of those — the Cameron Peak Fire and East Troublesome Fire — are now burning 10 miles apart from each other, raising worries that they could merge.

Everyone is making adjustments, some unimaginable.

Kristin Hulinsky was cooking dinner for herself and her 7-year-old daughter, Brileia, at the Windinger River Ranch wedding venue when the order came Wednesday evening to evacuate.

“It looked like the gates of hell,” said Ms. Hulinsky, who served as ranch manager at the property.

Ms. Hulinsky and her daughter jumped in her car and sped to a family member’s home to the west, in Kremling.

She has now seen photos, taken by the venue’s owner, confirming that all 19 structures on the property, including a lodge, nine cabins, a ranch house and five barns, are a total loss.

“There are no words,” Ms. Hulinsky said.

Airport Hackings by Russian Group Raise Election Alarm

By NICOLE PERLROTH

Cybersecurity officials watched with growing alarm in September as Russian state hackers started prowling around dozens of American state and local government computer systems just two months before the election.

The act itself did not worry them so much — officials anticipated that the Russians who interfered in the 2016 election would be back — but the actor did. The group, known to researchers as “Dragonfly” or “Energetic Bear” for its hackings of the energy sector, was not involved in 2016 election hacking. But it has in the past five years breached the power grid, water treatment facilities and even nuclear power plants, including one in Kansas.

It also hacked into Wi-Fi systems at San Francisco International Airport and at least two other West Coast airports in March in an apparent bid to find one unidentified traveler, a demonstration of the hackers' power and resolve.

September's intrusions marked the first time that researchers caught the group, a unit of Russia's Federal Security Service, or F.S.B., targeting states and counties. The timing of the attacks so close to the election and the potential for disruption set off concern inside private security firms, law enforcement and intelligence agencies.

“One possible explanation is that they are calling in the real pros — the A Team — who is used to operating in this really sensitive critical infrastructure where you want to keep quiet until you don't,” said Suzanne Spaulding, the former under secretary for cybersecurity and critical infrastructure at the Department of Homeland Security.

In 2016, Russian hackers from other groups were unusually noisy in their efforts to penetrate some state election databases. “You could argue they didn't care about being quiet,” Ms. Spaulding said. But now that Russia has been called out and punished for interfering in the election, President Vladimir V. Putin “may want to keep this quiet until the circumstances are set for their use in information operations,” she added.

American officials described the hackings in an advisory on



ANASTASIA SAPON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hackers have in recent years breached several grids, including Wi-Fi systems at several airports.

Thursday as “opportunistic,” rather than a clear attack on election infrastructure, but conceded the group had targeted dozens of state and local systems and stolen data from at least two targets' servers.

“They're broadly looking to scan for vulnerabilities and they're working opportunistically,” said Christopher C. Krebs, the director of the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, which issued the warning along with the F.B.I.

That hardly reassured researchers who have tracked Energetic Bear for years. “This appears to be preparatory, to ensure access when they decide they need it,” said Adam Meyers, the head of threat intelligence at CrowdStrike, a security firm that has monitored the group.

Energetic Bear typically casts a wide net, then zeros in on a few high-value targets. In Germany and the United States, the group has infected websites popular in the energy sector, downloading malware onto the machines of anyone who visited the sites, then searching for employees with access to industrial systems.

In other attacks, it has hijacked the software updates for comput-

ers attached to industrial control systems. It has also blasted targets with phishing emails in search of employees, or co-workers, who might have access to critical systems at water, power and nuclear plants.

And it has done so with remarkable success. A disturbing screenshot in a 2018 Department of Homeland Security advisory showed the groups' hackers with their fingers on the switches of the computers that controlled the industrial systems at a power plant.

The group has thus far stopped short of sabotage, but appears to be preparing for some future attack. The hackings so unnerved officials that starting in 2018, the United States Cyber Command, the arm of the Pentagon that conducts offensive cyberattacks, hit back with retaliatory strikes on the Russian grid.

Some called the counterattacks the digital era's equivalent of mutually assured destruction. But any hope that American officials had that their strikes would deter Russia dissipated when the group started targeting American airports in March.

Officials at San Francisco International Airport discovered Russia's state hackers had breached

the online system that airport employees and travelers used to gain access to the airport's Wi-Fi. The hackers injected code into two Wi-Fi portals that stole visitors' user names, cracked their passwords and infected their laptops.

The attack began on March 17 and continued for nearly two weeks until it was shut down. By then, officials at two other airports discovered their Wi-Fi portals had also been compromised. Researchers would not name the other victims, citing nondisclosure agreements, but said they were on the West Coast.

As pervasive as the attacks could have been, researchers believe the hackers were interested only in one person traveling through the airports that day.

“Ostensibly, hundreds of thousands of people could have been compromised,” said Eric Chien, a cybersecurity director at Symantec, who examined the attack. “But only 10 were.”

Mr. Chien's team discovered that the hackers were “finger-printing” the machines of anyone who logged onto the Wi-Fi network in search of one older version of Microsoft's Internet Explorer browser. If they found a match, the hackers infected those

Powerless to Block Barrett, Democrats Unleash Delays

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — Democrats around the Senate to a crawl on Friday as debate began on confirming Judge Amy Coney Barrett, President Trump's Supreme Court nominee, unleashing a barrage of dilatory tactics that briefly forced the chamber into an unusual closed session and prompted an acrid partisan brawl.

Lacking the votes to block Judge Barrett's installation, Democrats hoped to put an indelible stain on her confirmation and brand the process of replacing Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg as an illegitimate power grab. Their efforts appeared to be squarely aimed at revving up the party's base just 11 days before the election.

“The Republicans, as we all know, as the nation knows, are running the most partisan, most hypocritical, least legitimate process in the history of Supreme Court nominations,” said Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the Democratic leader. “We are not going to have business as usual.”

After Mr. Schumer demanded, unusually, that all members be physically present in the chamber to conduct business, though, Republicans roundly rejected each move. In time, they succeeded in beginning formal debate on Judge Barrett's nomination and setting the Senate on course for a final confirmation vote on Monday.

Most senators were expected to remain in Washington through the weekend to debate Judge Barrett's nomination, missing some of their last opportunities to campaign in favor of a push to install Mr. Trump's third Supreme Court nominee by Election Day. Demo-

crats promised more delay tactics, but conceded they were powerless to actually block or delay the vote.

“Might does not make right,” Mr. Schumer said again and again. He was referring to Republicans' decision to backtrack on earlier promises not to confirm a new justice so close to the election.

Friday's exchanges, heavy with references to three decades of escalating warfare over the courts, suggested an already polarized Senate was growing only more bitter as Republicans closed in on a singular achievement: a 6-to-3 conservative majority on the nation's highest court that could well oustlast Mr. Trump's presidency or their own Senate majority.

Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the majority leader, briefly tried to refocus attention on Judge Barrett herself, an appeals court judge in Chicago who, at 48, could serve on the court for decades. Like Democrats, Republicans are counting on the confirmation of a young, conservative judge on the court to excite their base and close a dangerously wide polling gap.

“This outstanding nominee is exceptionally suited for this job — period,” Mr. McConnell said. “And I know we all know that.”

Later, after rehashing decades of tit-for-tat confirmation fights with Democrats, he added: “The good news is this: In about 72 hours, I anticipate, we will have a third new justice to the Supreme Court.”

But mostly, Judge Barrett receded to the background as Democrats and Republicans traded complaints and defenses about the confirmation process itself.



MICHAEL A. MCCOY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

“We are not going to have business as usual,” said Senator Chuck Schumer, the Democratic leader, on his party's strategy.

Democrats trained fury on Republicans for filling the seat at all so close to an election, especially after they refused to fill a similar vacancy in 2016 when President Barack Obama nominated Judge Merrick B. Garland eight months before the election. Then, Republicans insisted that voters should be allowed to have a say in filling the seat.

Democrats began making trouble as soon as the Senate gavelled into session just after noon. When Mr. McConnell tried to begin the day's business, Mr. Schumer made an unusual demand: Democrats would insist that a quorum of senators be present to do so. Typically, both parties ignore that requirement and only a few senators are present at any one time.

By the time the Senate wrapped up business three hours later, he had forced six-roll call votes, including on whether to indefinitely delay consideration of the nomination, to send it back to the Judiciary Committee, and to adjourn the Senate altogether until after the election. Most of the votes fell along party lines, but Democrats did pick up occasional support

from Senators Susan Collins of Maine and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, both Republicans, who oppose filling the seat before Election Day.

The decision to go into closed session, though, was the most unusual. Not since 2010 has the Senate met in secret in that way. Cameras that broadcast proceedings in the chamber were shut off. Reporters and even most Senate staff were cleared from the chamber. Senators who remained were sworn to secrecy.

Mr. Schumer framed it as a last-ditch effort for senators to have a heart-to-heart discussion about the confirmation process and push off the vote before it was too late.

“The damage to Americans' faith in these institutions could be lasting,” he said. “So, before we go any further, we should shut off the cameras, close the Senate, and talk face to face about what this might mean for the country.”

Republicans wanted no such discussion. They voted within a matter of minutes to reopen the proceedings and move ahead with considering Judge Barrett.

laptops. If the Wi-Fi visitors used any other browser, the hackers left them alone.

“From what we could see, they were going after a specific individual,” Mr. Chien said.

In the government alert on Thursday, officials said that the Russian group was again targeting aviation systems. It did not name the targets but did suggest in some technical language that one could have been the airport in Columbus, Ohio.

In a previous homeland security warning about the group, officials said it “targets low security and small networks to gain access and move laterally to networks of major, high-value asset owners within the energy sector.”

Security researchers warned that the spate of attacks on American state and local systems could mirror the trajectory of those attacks: Russia's hackers using their foothold in seemingly random victims' networks to mine for more interesting targets closer to the election on Nov. 3. They could take steps like pulling offline the databases that verify voters' signatures on mail-in ballots, or given their particular expertise, shutting off power to key precincts.

“The most disconcerting piece is that it demonstrates Russia's intent and ability to target systems near and dear to us, but that shouldn't surprise us,” said Frank Cilluffo, the director of the Auburn University McCrary Institute for Cyber and Critical Infrastructure Security.

By deputizing the F.S.B.'s stealthiest infrastructure hackers to target state and local systems, some security experts believe Russia may be hedging its bets.

If, for example, Mr. Putin believes President Trump will be reelected and wants to forge a better relationship with the United States, he may want to limit the degree to which Russia is seen as interfering.

Likewise, the experts said, if former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic nominee, is elected, Russia may try to use its foothold in the systems to weaken or delegitimize him, or it may hold back so as not to provoke the new administration.

“By doing this more quietly, you give yourself more options,” Ms. Spaulding said.

“It's just harassment,” said Senator John Cornyn, Republican of Texas. “It's not about substance.”

But it was left to Mr. McConnell, the architect of Republicans' takeover of the federal courts, to offer a fuller response. Turning away from the cameras to speak directly to Republican members seated at their desks, he offered a selectively curated history of the devolving judicial nominations process in the Senate, reaching back to Democrats' rejection of Robert Bork, a conservative nominee, in 1987.

Mr. McConnell argued that the decision to block Judge Garland had been consistent with history and so was the decision to confirm Judge Barrett because now, unlike then, the same party controls the White House and the Senate. Democrats view the Garland blockade as a serious escalation from which the chamber has not recovered.

“This is not spin. This is fact,” Mr. McConnell said. Referring to Democrats, he added: “Every new escalation, every new step, every new shattered precedent, every one of them was initiated over there. No exceptions.”

In a sign of how toxic the relationship between the two leaders had become four years after Mr. Schumer assumed his leadership post, Mr. McConnell suggested his counterpart was merely reaping what he had sown.

“I hope our colleague from New York is happy with what he's built,” Mr. McConnell said. “I hope he's happy with where his ingenuity has gotten the Senate.”

Mr. Schumer was just as withering.

“We have just heard a tit-for-tat convoluted version of history that the majority leader uses to justify steering the Senate toward one of the lowest moments in its history,” he said in reply. Mr. McConnell's actions, he added, would “forever defile the Senate.”

U.S. Charges Kushner Ally With Stalking People Online

By NICOLE HONG and JESSE DRUCKER

Two years ago, the Trump administration offered a seat on the board of the National Endowment for the Humanities to Ken Kurson, a close friend of the president's son-in-law Jared Kushner.

As part of the routine background check for the position, the F.B.I. uncovered a swirl of harassment allegations against Mr. Kurson over his divorce in 2015. He then withdrew from consideration, but the fallout from the nomination did not end there.

On Friday, federal prosecutors charged Mr. Kurson with cyberstalking three people and harassing two others, including a friend whom he blamed for the deterioration of his marriage.

Mr. Kurson's stature within the Trump family's circle had been growing before his nomination to the prestigious board. In 2013, when Mr. Kushner owned The New York Observer, the weekly newspaper, he appointed Mr. Kurson to be its editor in chief. While serving as editor, Mr. Kurson helped write a speech for President Trump's 2016 campaign.

Mr. Kurson was also a longtime associate of Rudolph W. Giuliani, Mr. Trump's personal lawyer, and helped manage his short-lived 2008 presidential campaign. He now runs a media company and works in the cryptocurrency industry.

In a statement on Friday, Marc L. Mukasey, Mr. Kurson's lawyer, called Mr. Kurson “an honorable man, a loving dad and a gifted writer.”

“The conduct alleged is hardly worthy of a federal criminal prosecution,” Mr. Mukasey said. “Ken will get past it.”

Mr. Kurson's accusers described his conduct as “diabolical” and “super scary,” according to the criminal complaint.

The friend whom he blamed for his divorce works as a doctor at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York City, according to people familiar with the investigation, and had been friends with Mr. Kurson for more than 20 years.

He targeted her with a flood of negative Yelp reviews, threatening emails, anonymous calls to her phone and messages to Mount Sinai employees claiming she was having an affair with her boss, prosecutors said. To cover his tracks, he used aliases like “Jayden Wagner” and “Eddie Train.”

The doctor told Mount Sinai that Mr. Kurson had used similar tactics against another woman who was later fired from her job as a result, the criminal complaint said. The woman filed a restraining order against Mr. Kurson.

The woman is Mr. Kurson's ex-wife, according to people familiar with the investigation, though she is not identified by name in the complaint. The people spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss an ongoing investigation.

The case is being handled by the public corruption unit of the United States attorney's office in Brooklyn. In a court appearance on Friday conducted by phone, a judge released Mr. Kurson from custody pending trial. He did not have to enter a plea.

The criminal complaint lists five unnamed individuals as victims of Mr. Kurson's harassment. They include Mr. Kurson's ex-wife, the Mount Sinai doctor, her boss and her boss's wife at the time, people familiar with the investigation said. The fifth person could not be determined.

The F.B.I. has gathered evidence that Mr. Kurson also installed software on someone's computer to monitor keystrokes, the complaint said. He used aliases to contact that person's employer to report false allegations of misconduct, according to the complaint.

William K. Rashbaum contributed reporting.

Corrections

FRONT PAGE

An article on Friday about the #MeToo movement in Iran misidentified the position of Elnaaz Mohammadi at Abuse Watch, an education and advocacy group in Tehran. She is a member, not a co-founder. The article also imprecisely paraphrased her comments regarding the recipient of student complaints about Aydin Aghdashloo's behavior. Ms. Mohammadi said she had received the complaints, not Abuse Watch.

SPORTS

An article on Friday about winter sports in Europe during the pan-

demic misspelled the surname of an American ski racer. He is Ryan Cochran-Siegle, not Ryan Cochran-Siegle.

SPECIAL SECTION: FINE ARTS & EXHIBITS

An article on Page 6 about the Asia Society Triennial misstates Michelle Yun's role at the Asia Society Museum. She is the senior curator of modern and contemporary art, not only of contemporary art.

Because of an editing error, an article on Page 14 about a four-decade retrospective on the work of Sue Coe misstates the status of

Peter Eleey, who organized “Sue Coe: It Can Happen Here.” He is the chief curator at MoMA PS1, not the former chief curator.

MAGAZINE

An article on Page 22 about the chef Gaggan Anand misstates the location of the Don't Tell Aunty restaurant. It is in Sydney, Australia, not Melbourne.

An article on Page 26 about the tech company Palantir omits part of the name of a German pharmaceutical company. It is Merck K.G.a.A., not simply Merck, which is the name of an American company.

OBITUARIES

An obituary on Oct. 6 about Mike Foster, a former two-term governor of Louisiana, misstated the year he was elected to the Louisiana State Senate. It was 1987, not 1986.

Because of an editing error, an obituary on Oct. 13 about the Hall of Fame second baseman Joe Morgan misstated the number of World Series the Cincinnati Reds, for whom Morgan played in the 1970s, appeared in from 1970 to 1977. It was four, not three. The obituary also misstated the name of the college from which Morgan

received a bachelor's degree. It is California State University, Hayward, not the University of California, Hayward.

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

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nytimes@nytimes.com or call
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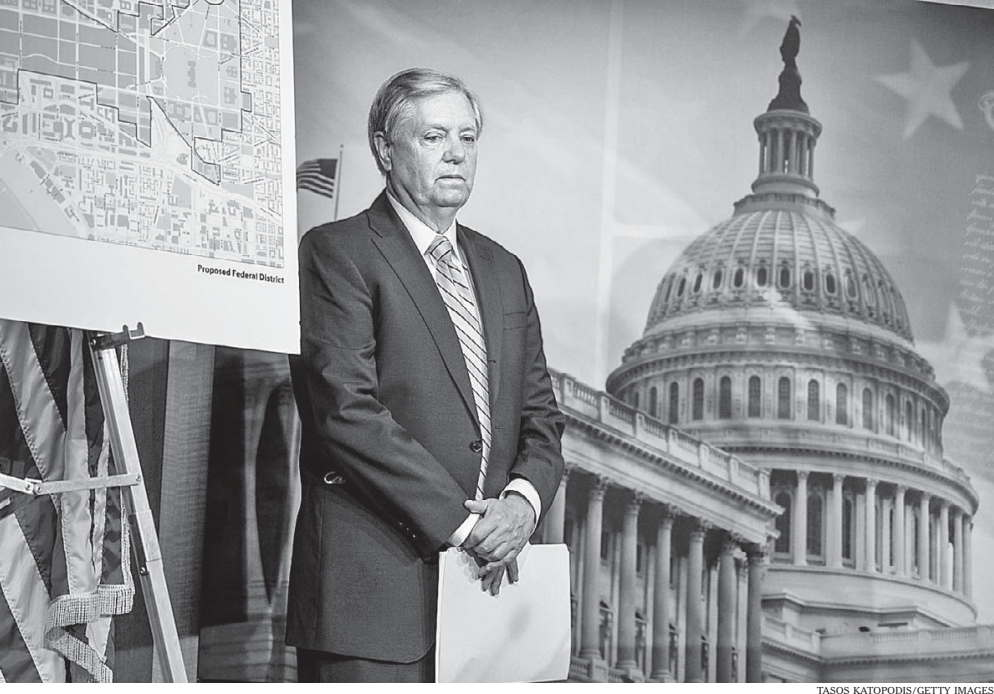
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The New York Times

JAMELLE BOUIE

This Is Why Republicans Fear Change



TASOS KATOPODIS/GETTY IMAGES

IT IS NOT ACTUALLY clear that new states are on the agenda should Democrats win in November. House Democrats have passed a bill to admit the District of Columbia as a state, and Representatives Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Nydia Velázquez of New York have introduced a bill to let Puerto Ricans hold a binding referendum on their future, but Senate Democrats are still somewhat silent on the issue.

Nonetheless, congressional Republicans have raised the specter of new states as they fight to defend their majority in the Senate.

In June, after the House passed its D.C. statehood bill, Senate Republicans went on a tear against the measure, with Lindsey Graham of South Carolina condemning it as an unconstitutional power grab that would “empower the most radical agenda in modern American politics.” Later, Mitch McConnell, the Senate majority leader, used his time at the Republican National Convention to warn of dire consequences should the District become a state: “They want to defund the police and take away your Second Amendment rights. They want free health care for illegal immigrants, yet they offer no protection at all for unborn Americans. They want to pack the Supreme Court with liberals intent on eroding our constitutional rights. And they want to codify all this by making the swamp itself, Washington, D.C., America’s 51st state. With two more liberal senators, we cannot undo the damage they’ve done.”

More recently, on Fox News, Graham — fighting an unusually tough battle for reelection against his Democratic challenger, Jaime Harrison — warned of a “parade of horrors” should Republicans lose the Senate and the White House. “If they win, it is not going to be about a health care debate,” he said, referring to the last period of unified Democratic control in 2009, “they are going to structurally change the country to make it harder for a Republican to get elected president. They are going to make D.C. a state, altering the balance of power in the Senate.”

On Twitter, likewise, Senator John Cornyn of Texas — also in a competitive race for re-election against the Democratic challenger MJ Hegar — warned that a Democratic majority in Congress would make D.C. and Puerto Rico states, adding four additional members to the Senate. This would also, he said, mean “nine new members of the Electoral College, equivalent of New Mexico and New Hampshire combined.” Presumably, these states

would also vote Democratic in the next presidential election.

Here, it’s worth taking a small step back. Whatever the political and constitutional challenges, the case for D.C. statehood is straightforward: American citizens deserve full representation in Congress. Similarly, the people of Puerto Rico deserve the right to choose their own future. If they decide to remain within the American union, they too deserve full representation. The same goes for everyone under the dominion of the United States: They should be able to choose either independence or representation. It is true that at this moment D.C. statehood benefits the Democratic Party; Puerto Rico, on the other hand, has routinely chosen Republicans for statewide office.

Regardless, there’s no reason to think that in the long run the Republican Party would not be able to compete for votes in either D.C. or Puerto Rico, and yet Republicans believe they are disadvantaged by new states and additional voters.

This is true beyond the politics of statehood. It is well known, at this point, that as

They raise the specter of new states in their fight to defend a Senate majority.

a general rule Republicans are more likely to restrict voters than to encourage them. Across the country, Republican lawmakers and officials have erected new obstacles to voting, from strict voter identification laws (passed immediately in the wake of *Shelby County v. Holder*, the Supreme Court ruling that killed a key piece of the Voting Rights Act) to poll closures, limits on voter registration and, most recently, new restrictions on mail-in voting. Just this week, the conservative Supreme Court majority sided with Alabama election officials against curbside voting for voters with disabilities, as well as those vulnerable to Covid-19.

There’s more. Republicans in Wisconsin, for example, have gerrymandered the state so that nothing short of a Democratic supermajority could break their hold on the State Legislature. And the Trump administration, seeking to enhance the power and influence of its white, rural base, has undermined the census, aiming for an undercount that would deprive millions of Americans in cities and other more diverse areas of federal resources

and representation.

In this election, Republicans have registered new supporters in their effort to win re-election for President Trump, but the broad pattern is clear: Republicans are hostile to greater democracy, where democracy means equal representation in a federal system of separated powers. Name a proposal that would enlarge the scope of American democracy — more states, a national popular vote, a larger House of Representatives — and Republicans (or conservative allies) are almost certain to oppose it. Some Republicans, notably Senator Ben Sasse of Nebraska, even oppose existing democratic reforms, like the direct election of senators.

One way to understand this opposition to greater democracy is as a preference for political and constitutional stasis. And this makes sense. The power of the Republican Party in its present form rests on static institutions and a frozen politics. Ending (or radically reforming) the Electoral College would, as Graham said, make it more difficult for Republicans to elect a president, meaning they could no longer win a presidential race while losing the popular vote itself. Creating new states would disturb the balance of the Senate and possibly make it more difficult for Republicans to win a majority in the chamber. Expanding the Supreme Court and the federal judiciary would harm the Republican effort to undermine federal election protection and allow voter suppression and disenfranchisement.

The Republican Party as currently constituted is a minority party representing a demographically narrow segment of the American electorate. It needs stasis — institutional and constitutional — to survive. Democrats do not. Just the opposite, they need a political system that can grow with and respond to change within our society. Progressive government is necessarily active government. And if we can speak of original intent, it was not the intent of founders of this country to have a static government, a static constitutional order, or — for that matter — a static society.

The question of whether Democrats will abolish the filibuster or expand the courts or create new states, should they win power, is actually a question of whether Democrats will bring dynamism to the American political system. The prospect is daunting. But if they have any desire to reverse the damage of the past four years — if they want to return to something like normalcy — then the path to stability begins with transformation. □

LETTERS

A More Restrained Presidential Debate

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “Trump and Biden Diverge Sharply in Visions for U.S.” (front page, Oct. 23):

“They are so well taken care of.” So said President Trump in response to the moderator Kristen Welker’s question about the fate of 545 children who have not been able to be reunited with their parents because of Mr. Trump’s sadistic family separation policy.

There are no words to describe my disgust that more than 40 percent of the public still supports a man who can make such a remark. How can any parent or any self-respecting Christian who believes in “family values” seriously consider voting for him? This is a man who, as his niece Mary Trump avers in her revelatory book about her uncle, comes from a family that equates kindness with weakness.

Never mind all the obvious lies he spewed during the rest of the debate. This one breathtakingly callous comment should brand him forever as the heartless, cruel, emotionally stunted person he truly is. Vote him out!

BRYAN L. TUCKER, BOSTON

TO THE EDITOR:

Your reporters’ characterization of the second presidential debate as

“more restrained” is at best damning by faint praise. The longer the debate went on, the more President Trump interrupted, went over his time limits and ignored the moderator’s pleas to move on.

Perhaps because I am a history teacher, I found myself astounded by the president’s angry lies. Could we someday have an honest exchange of views?

PETER K. FROST
WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.

The writer is professor emeritus of international studies at Williams College.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “Biden and Trump’s Final Debate: Who Won?” (Opinion, nytimes.com, Oct. 23):

Your piece on who won the debate ignores the fact that it was not a debate. A debate requires a reasonably uniform standard of truth. I don’t know what the event should be called when nearly everything President Trump said was a lie, nearly everything former Vice President Joe Biden said was true, and this discrepancy was never acknowledged.

But I know what the event was — a free and unchecked platform for Mr. Trump to spread disinformation.

ANDREA LIU, SWARTHMORE, PA.

What Murrow and Fred Friendly Would Say

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “A Last Stand for White America,” by Roger Cohen (column, Oct. 17):

Our fathers, Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly, produced the “Report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy” that CBS broadcast on March 9, 1954. Our families, down to the grandchildren, know Murrow’s words that closed that report, and that Mr. Cohen quotes in his column: “We cannot defend

freedom abroad by deserting it at home.”

If the Murrow-Friendly team were practicing journalism today, they would agree with Mr. Cohen that now is a time to take a stand against those, like Donald Trump, who would exploit our fears and undermine American freedom.

We applaud Mr. Cohen and join him in calling for all Americans to vote against demagoguery and division, and to vote instead to lead the world by restoring decency and mutual respect in America.

CASEY MURROW
ANDY FRIENDLY

Ask Before You Hug

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “Embraceable You?” (Well, Science Times, Oct. 20):

Hugs are a wonderful thing. But it is not “best to ask”; it is *essential* that you ask. And consent is complicated.

If we want to move away from #MeToo assaults and toward a culture of consent, we need to emphasize the importance of asking people what they want, rather than “judging the other person’s comfort level.”

We need to move toward reinforcing bodily autonomy and the necessity of asking.

Some people may identify as “not a hugger,” but for most people, hugging is a moment-to-moment boundary question that can change based on the who, what, where, when and how of the situation.

While nonverbal communication is a piece of the puzzle, and the research discussed in the article helps further our understanding of hugs and preferences, we do ourselves and our children a disservice when we discuss consent in these lightweight terms. Learning to assert bodily autonomy is serious.

SARAH CASPER, BROOKLYN

The writer is the founder of Comprehensive Consent, which teaches parents and children about body boundaries and consent.

Who’s Afraid of Voters?

TO THE EDITOR:

I’m 84, live in the South and waited three hours to vote the other day. I didn’t have to do it, but I wanted to see how it felt to wait in line for three hours. Except for conversations with people in front of and behind me, it wasn’t fun.

When I think of people of all ages waiting many hours in all kinds of weather; when I think of thousands potentially stripped of their right to vote and many others prevented because signatures don’t match precisely; when I think of fake drop boxes and all who have paid their debts to society still stopped from voting, the only conclusion I can come to is that the people who run the show are cowards afraid of free and fair elections.

ALLEN BERGER, SAVANNAH, GA.

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer’s name, address and telephone number. Those selected may be edited, and shortened to fit allotted space. Email: letters@nytimes.com

ROGER COHEN

The Shrinking of the American Mind

AMONG THE WORDS or phrases that were never spoken in the two presidential debates were:

Syria, human rights, drones, democracy, inequality, dictatorship, Israel, Palestine, Middle East, United Nations, World Health Organization, Guantánamo, European Union, Britain, Brexit, France, Italy, Hong Kong, Africa (or any single African state), South America, terrorism, multilateral, authoritarianism, alliance.

That’s a pretty good measure of the shrinking of the American mind.

President Trump never mentioned Afghanistan, where the United States lost more than 2,400 lives and spent some \$2 trillion over the past two decades. Joe Biden did, once.

One of the characteristics of a nightmare is that it is all-consuming. Everything beyond it fades into the murk. President Trump, in an extraordinary sustained broadcast of his self-obsession, has managed to corral the world into the shadow of an orange colossus.

Yes, Trump was more civil in the second debate, and Biden, ahead in the polls, did himself no harm. Still, it was an affair of stunning mediocrity and myopia.

Let’s just posit for a moment that the rise of China, the assertiveness of Vladimir

Putin’s Russia, the resurgence of dictatorships, the fragility of democracies, the challenges of population growth in Africa, the pandemic’s exposure of a global leadership vacuum, rising inequality in Western societies, the frozen inadequacy of the United Nations, social fracture, the spread of the surveillance state, and the hate-multiplying impact of social media platforms may be pivotal issues of the coming decade.

What did we hear on these themes? Essentially nothing.

TV commentators went through their thing, opining on the significance of Biden looking at his watch, the importance (or not) of gazing directly into the camera, the punch Trump landed (or not) on Hunter Biden. I did not hear any laments on all that Trump’s America, in its America-first inward turn, has relegated to oblivion.

Oh, yes, Syria, where some 80 percent of the survivors of a civil war that left more than 400,000 people dead now live in poverty and 40 percent of people are unemployed. Oh, yes, Hong Kong, and Belarus, where brave protesters have been battling for democracy in struggles that would once have engaged the American imagination. Oh, yes, the Middle East,

where so much American treasure and such sustained American diplomacy have been deployed in the pursuit of an Israeli-Palestinian peace, and so many American and Iraqi lives were lost not so long ago in Iraq.

Gone, baby, gone.

The shrinking of the American mind involves a kind of numbness. It has become difficult to think or see beyond the noise

What wasn’t said at the debates was as telling as what was.

emanating from the White House. Indignation fatigue has set in. There he goes again. That plaintive whining voice. Without respect for truth, without respect for science, what debate can there be?

In the end the debates amounted to a portrait of the growing irrelevance to the rest of the world of an insular United States. Two men in their 70s showed an almost complete disregard for the I-want-to-help-change-the-world idealism of Generation Z. This was close to insulting.

The exchanges were, on the whole, petty, petulant and predictable.

In them, I saw the reflection of an American society in which constructive debate is near impossible. Trump has governed through fomenting division and violence. He has almost never risen to themes of reconciliation or outreach. As a result, American debate is reduced to rival tribes shrieking contempt for each other. These tribes forget that nobody ever had their mind changed by being made to feel stupid.

It’s worth examining some of the debates’ vanished words for a moment. The protection of *human rights* must always be a crucial American mission. *Democracy* is still the best defense of human dignity and freedom. *Inequality* continues to grow, eating away at the social fabric of societies, compounding injustice, a word mentioned once by Biden in the first debate. *Guantánamo* remains a stain on America’s conscience. Young men and women in the American military are out in dangerous far-flung places fighting *terrorism*.

The *United Nations*, the *World Health Organization* and the *European Union* are examples of *multilateral* organizations Trump’s United States has flouted to

its cost. *Britain* and *France* are nuclear powers that are critical partners in an *alliance* (NATO) that has brought peace and stability to Europe. *Africa*, famously home to “shithole” countries for Trump, is where roughly two-thirds of population growth will occur between 2020 and 2050; its fate is also humanity’s.

Speaking of the future, America, as it approaches its 250th anniversary this decade, is still a young country. It is not yet preposterous to believe that its best days lie ahead. It is still a land of striving, space, churn and reinvention where what binds people is greater than what separates them, if only a leader would seek to heal rather than hate.

The essence of America is openness. History, geography, immigration and fate have established that. The shrinking of the American mind under Trump therefore amounts, for Americans, to a dangerous denial of themselves. Prolonged for another four years, in a second Trump term, it would negate the American idea, without which, at least for this immigrant, the United States, as conceived, with all its flaws, ceases to be.

Perhaps, in the end, the greatest usefulness of the debates was as a vivid illustration of just how far we have fallen. □

Why Is Virus Data Kept Secret?

Christopher J.L. Murray

THE Trump administration has declined to release critical data to outside public health experts that would enable them to devise strategies against the virus that has killed 223,000 Americans and counting.

Federal agencies have told us that since March they have been compiling data for each county and city on Covid-19 cases, hospitalizations and deaths, the timing of social distancing mandates, testing, and other factors. This information can provide insights into how combinations of public health mandates — masks, social distancing and school closures, for instance — can keep the pandemic in check.

But the government, inexplicably, is not sharing all of its data. Researchers have asked federal officials many times for the missing information, but have been told it won't be shared outside the government.

In just one example of the pointless suppression of data that pervades the federal response to the coronavirus, The New York Times had to sue the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention under the Freedom of Information Act to obtain basic information on cases tabulated by race and ethnicity. The information showed, as the paper put it, that “Black and Latino people have been disproportionately affected by the coronavirus in a widespread manner that spans the country, throughout hundreds of counties in urban, suburban and rural areas, and across all” ages.

The institute I run at the University of Washington specializes in making rigorous assessments of health problems and using the data to develop or evaluate strategies to handle them. We provide this information to policymakers so that they can make informed decisions. That's why we and others are interested in obtaining the data the government has on hand on the coronavirus. But we've run into a wall.

That's not to say the government is keeping all of its data secret. On its website, the Department of Health and Human Services does provide details about daily hospital bed capacity and the percentage of beds occupied by patients with Covid-19 by state.

But it does not provide individual hospital data, nor data by age and sex or on hospital admissions, which are some of the best indicators of the trajectory of the epidemic. Nor does the department provide data on how many hospitals in each state reported their numbers on a given day.

The C.D.C. provides data at the national level for cases by age and sex and race/ethnicity, but not for both together by state or county. We have asked the C.D.C. for such data but have been told by officials that they cannot share it. These breakdowns are essential to make sense of what is happening.

And now, because the government has not allowed outside researchers to look at all of its data, key questions are still unanswered nine months after the virus gained a foothold in the United States: Has coronavirus transmission really shifted to younger ages? Adjusting for age and comorbidities, has the death rate among Covid-19 patients dropped because of better treatment? Have local mandates influ-

The government has a trove of information but refuses to release it.

enced the case rate or the hospital admission rate taking these other factors into account, and how?

I don't know why the government is withholding some of the information it has gathered, when releasing it would so clearly be in the public interest. Perhaps it is driven by a concern that more data will lead to greater scrutiny and criticism over the handling of the pandemic, or misplaced concern that somehow anonymized tabulations of medical information could infringe on individuals' privacy.

Prior administrations, too, have tended to err on the side of releasing less data on public health problems. But the urgency of determining how to manage this pandemic requires a much more open and collaborative approach.

For instance, data on which mandates were imposed where and details on the number of cases, hospital admission and subsequent deaths could help us decide whether new lockdowns are needed. Shorter closures, along with mask requirements, restrictions on large group gatherings, shutdowns of bars and limits on indoor dining, may be sufficient until a vaccine is widely available.

We may also find that given the much greater toll among Black and Hispanic people, strategies like regular testing of essential workers may also be needed.

But the scientific community needs to see the data to give more precise direction. And precision will matter with the changing of the seasons. It is increasingly clear that Covid-19 acts like pneumonia and the flu, which spread more quickly during the winter.

If our forecasts are anywhere close to accurate, hospitals may be overwhelmed in many places as colder weather descends. Our modeling, updated weekly, now forecasts more than 17,500 daily deaths globally by Jan. 1, nearly 2,250 of them in the United States.

We may be able to prevent many of these deaths, but we need the complete data to start planning now. □

CHRISTOPHER J.L. MURRAY is director of the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation at the University of Washington



ILLUSTRATION BY NAJEEBAH AL-GHADBAN; PHOTOGRAPH BY IGOR USTYNSKY VIA GETTY IMAGES

We're Living in a World of Walls

Nicole Krauss

A LONG time ago, I read of a torture technique that a journalist heard was used by Hamas on residents of Gaza suspected of being informants: The person is shown a wall onto which a staircase is drawn, and at the top is a drawing of a bicycle. The person is told to go up and get the bicycle. But it's only a drawing, he says. He is told that if he doesn't bring the bicycle down the stairs, he will be beaten. And when, again, he appeals to his torturer's reason, to the reality in which both the staircase and the bicycle are drawings, he is hit. At this moment he understands that he has been left alone in a reality he believed was shared. He has been abandoned there, while the others have departed to a new reality in which a person can be tortured for being unable to do what is asked because it is physically impossible.

In that same article, there was, as I recall, a photograph of the concrete blocks of the Israel/Palestine wall, on which someone had scrawled “CTL+ALT+DLT.”

Here in Brooklyn, my children no longer attend school and instead are on the sofa rapidly tapping the buttons of their keyboards to bash down a wall in Minecraft. In that medieval landscape of the future, they have built houses for themselves, they own dogs, they have somehow exchanged emeralds mined from a cave for melon seeds and pigs. With whom did you trade the emeralds for the pigs? I ask. With the villagers, they say, distractedly, not lifting their eyes from their screens.

Earlier this week, the older one, mining the internet, dug up an old video of President Trump's appearance on a late-night show, and since then they have been watching it over and over, unable to control their laughter. In it, the president, who has yet to win the election and become the president, says that in the wall he intends to build on the border there will be “a beautiful, big, fat door,” through which people will enter the country. In the years

since the airing of this late-night appearance, very many people have been told they must enter through this door, even though it doesn't exist. The part about the beautiful door is funny, but the really funny part, as far as my children are concerned, is when the late-night host gives the future president a chance to apologize to anyone he wants, and the president can't think of anyone. No one at all? Nope, the president says.

It is winter now, then spring, then summer, and already fall. Those of us with homes have been told to take refuge there, to stay within the walls. As such, no one can reach anyone except via satellite, and our only shared reality is the news, and the numbers of infections and fatalities. A friend, nearing the end of a two-week quarantine with her family in a small apartment in Jerusalem, tells me that once they made it through the first week, her dark mood began to lift. “La'ga'at ba'kir” was the expression my friend used, which means “to touch the wall”: The hardest part of the challenge was behind now, the finish in sight. Later, after we end our call, it occurs to me that at 46 I have almost certainly touched the wall in my life, but have none of the eagerness to be finished that the expression suggests.

I go and read Frost's “Mending Wall,” since there is time for poetry again. But his spirit of bemused doubt now strikes the wrong note; the poet's polite acquiescence to his patrician, wall-loving neighbor has lost its New England gentility. It's not hunters making the holes in walls anymore, as he has it in the poem. It's the hunted. And mostly they fail to make it through, and instead get crushed up against the walls, as happens in a stampede. There are 26 million refugees in the world and nearly 46 million internally displaced people. There is no patience left for this beautiful poem anymore, is what I think, shutting the book and replacing it on the shelf. Not in this burning, ravaged world.

I think of all the ancient walls in the Mediterranean, in the Levant, built to terrace the land, so that it could grow grapes and olives, and which the millenniums

have worn down and crumbled, have kicked in like teeth. Not long ago, Reuters reported that the chief rabbi of the Western Wall said that Jews should refrain from kissing its stones, so as not to spread the virus. That there is a *chief* rabbi suggests that this broken old section of retaining wall, whose holiness is born only of proximity, has more than one rabbi assigned to it. In any case, no one listens to the rabbi or rabbis of the holy wall: Everyone is still putting their lips to it.

The house is quiet. My children are busy trading emeralds for pigs. In a magazine, I encounter the phrase “moral injury.” The article, written by a war correspondent who has reported from conflict zones for 30 years, describes a condition that has come to light in her line of work. A moral injury, as defined by the expert psychologist quoted in the article, is “a wound

On ancient stones, computer screens and emergency exits.

on the soul, an affront to your moral compass based on your own behavior and the things you have failed to do.” There is a pandemic of moral injury, I think: It is impossible to read about the state of the world anymore without feeling a wound on the soul, an affront to our moral compasses based on our own behavior and the things we have failed to do.

I do a search of the journalist who wrote the article and discover her TED Talk. “This is how war starts,” she says. “One day, you are living your ordinary life, you're planning to go to a party, you're taking your children to school, you're making a dentist appointment. The next thing, the telephones go out, the TVs go out, there's armed men on the street, there's road blocks, your life as you know it goes into suspended animation.” She tells the story of a friend who was walking down a street in Sarajevo, in Bosnia, in April 1992, wearing a miniskirt and high heels, on her way

to her job at a bank, when suddenly she saw a tank coming down the main road. A few weeks later she was in a crowd of people, holding up her infant son and pushing to give him to a stranger on one of the last buses leaving Sarajevo to take children to safety. She struggled to get to the front. Everyone was yelling, “Take my child, take mine!” At last she managed to pass her son through a window of the bus. She didn't see him again for years.

My own children are now asleep upstairs, along with the dog. Not the one they feed in Minecraft, but the one I feed here, in our shared reality. They are too big for me to be able to pass them through the window of a bus, or to carry them at all. If a civil war breaks out, they will need to be able to walk or run themselves.

On my browser, I open a window, and through that window I can look through the windows of people all over the world, windows through which I can see and hear cars go by, a cyclist, the bending of a field of grass. In the top left corner of the video it states who the window belongs to — the Didis' window, in this case — and in the top right it says the location: Cairo, Egypt. Just now, the Didis' little dog is thinking about coming in from the terrace, but changes her mind. Three of the dog's puppies appear. Apparently, they were hiding under the bench, to which they quickly return. I wait for a long time, but they don't come out. There is the vibrating sound of a call coming through on a cellphone, but no one picks up. Perhaps the Didis have vacated the scene, or wish to be left in peace.

I click a button, and now I am looking out the window of a moving train outside of Moscow. In Lausanne, under a blue sky, a boat arrives. A sea in Albania. A kangaroo doing not much in Tasmania. So much wind, so much laundry drying. So many open doors with the keys still in the lock. So many sleeping cats. So much waiting. I fall asleep with the window open, and when I wake, it is raining in Norway. □

NICOLE KRAUSS is the author of the forthcoming “To Be a Man,” a collection of short stories.

Trump's Economy Was Never So Great

Steven Rattner

BY MOST measures, President Trump's poll ratings have long been loitering below the waterline, even more so since the pandemic swept through the United States, killing more than 220,000.

That is, by most measures except one that has regularly been central to past elections: support for how he has dealt with the economy. According to an average of recent polls compiled by Real Clear Politics, 50.5 percent of Americans approve of Mr. Trump's handling of the economy, compared with 47.5 percent who disapprove.

How can that be, in a nation with an unemployment rate — 7.9 percent — that remains deeply in recessionary territory?

For one thing, before the pandemic arrived, Mr. Trump used his loose relationship to the truth to hammer into accepted dogma the notion that he was responsible for creating “the greatest economy in the history of the world.” The unemployment rate had fallen to a 51-year low, the economy was growing steadily (albeit slowly) and inflation remained subdued.

For another, the recent economic turmoil has had vastly divergent effects on different groups of Americans. Many have not been damaged financially or

have even found their economic well-being improved. Think, for example, of those employed in companies with significant online revenues, those who own stocks and those who work in largely unaffected industries like technology.

To be sure, Mr. Trump's approval ratings on the economy have declined since the pandemic began.

But the reality of Mr. Trump's economy is far different from his portrayal of it. For the first three years of his presi-

The country's financial health is worse than the president claims.

dency, his economy amounted to nothing more than a continuation of the recovery engineered by President Barack Obama.

Job growth, for example, was faster during Mr. Obama's last three years than during the first three years of Mr. Trump's. So was the pace of wage increases.

The economy expanded at roughly the same rate during the two periods — and never came close to Mr. Trump's promised “4, 5 or maybe even 6 percent.”

Then came the virus. Mr. Trump's slow start and clumsy management no doubt contributed to unemployment rocketing to 14.7 percent and a second-quarter fall

in gross domestic product of 9 percent, by far the largest since the Great Depression.

For months, Mr. Trump has been claiming that we are in a V-shaped recovery. That's just another lie. Yes, the economy is mending. But more like a backward check mark than a “V.” Last month, only 661,000 jobs were created, bringing the total number returned to 11.4 million, just over half of what was lost.

When the third-quarter G.D.P. results are reported on Thursday, they will show a rebound that Mr. Trump has already begun to promote as “record-setting.” But that improvement is likely to be only about two-thirds of the decline.

In his campaign, Joe Biden has been understandably prosecuting most heavily Mr. Trump's failure to manage the pandemic as well as the president's appalling lack of moral character.

For its part, the president's team has indicated that he intends to make the economy a more central part of his closing argument. Mr. Biden needs to counter this — and ammunition is hardly lacking.

One real-time indicator, new claims for unemployment insurance, has been trending sideways for two months, nearly quadruple pre-pandemic levels.

Manufacturing, a centerpiece of Mr. Trump's promise to Make America Great Again, sits at its smallest share of G.D.P. in 73 years of data.

Then there's the trade war. Last December, Bloomberg Economics estimated that the trade war would cost the U.S. economy around \$316 billion by the end of 2020. Meanwhile, Mr. Trump's tax cut has fallen widely short of generating promised revenues or growth.

Even Wall Street firms, not often enthusiastic about expansive Democratic policy proposals, have made clear that Mr. Biden's agenda would produce superior results. Moody's Analytics recently estimated that the economy would expand faster under Mr. Biden, by a full percentage point if the Democrats also retake control of the Senate.

In that scenario, Moody's says, a Biden presidency would also mean 7.4 million more jobs created than under Mr. Trump, who would end his second term without unemployment having fully recovered.

Think about that: A leading independent forecasting firm says Mr. Trump could end a second term with America having fewer jobs than it had when he took office.

So please, Mr. Vice President, use your bully pulpit to convince voters that Mr. Trump's economy is on a ventilator and showing few signs of being ready to breathe on its own. □

STEVEN RATTNER, a counselor to the Treasury secretary in the Obama administration, is a Wall Street executive and a contributing opinion writer.



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Now is the time for recent college graduates to begin seeking better loan terms when payments come due.



There’s no spraying in baseball this year, at least until a World Series winner can break out the bubbly.

Business

The New York Times

Gig-Economy Giants Face The Ballot Fight of Their Lives



Tyler Sandnes cheering on other opponents of Prop 22, which would exempt gig companies from California labor laws, during a rally last week in Los Angeles.

By KATE CONGER

OAKLAND, CALIF. — By late August, the urgency was becoming clear. Top executives of Uber, Lyft and the delivery service DoorDash met to discuss a California ballot measure that would exempt them from a new state labor law and save their companies hundreds of millions of dollars. The survival of their businesses was on the ballot. Days later, political strategists responded to the executives’ concerns by telling the companies, which had already

pledged \$90 million to back the measure, that they needed to spend a lot more if they wanted to win, said three people familiar with the discussions, who were not allowed to talk about them publicly. The fight over the ballot measure, Proposition 22, has become the most expensive in the state’s history since then, with its backers contributing nearly \$200 million and 10 days still to go until the Nov. 3 election. Along the way, the companies have repeatedly been accused of heavy-handed tactics; a lawsuit filed on Thursday claims

Uber is coercing the support of its drivers. Despite the big spending and a barrage of television advertising, only 39 percent of likely voters said they supported Uber and Lyft in a poll last month by the University of California, Berkeley, while 36 percent opposed their proposal and others were undecided. People close to the campaign said they would want to see close to 60 percent approval in polling before they could breathe a sigh of relief. The ballot measure, which is also being

Labor Dept. Is Dimming A Spotlight It Relied On

A memo tells agencies to cut back on news releases of potential violations.

By NOAM SCHEIBER

For years, the Labor Department has made a practice of issuing sternly worded news releases calling out companies deemed by its enforcement staff to have violated the law, including rules governing discrimination, worker safety, the minimum wage and overtime. But the department’s appetite for using that spotlight appears to have waned. In a Sept. 24 memo, a copy of which was obtained by The New

70%

The reduction in reported violations in similar facilities within three miles of a company that OSHA had issued a news release on.

York Times, Deputy Secretary Patrick Pizzella instructed the heads of the department’s enforcement agencies that “absent extraordinary circumstances,” the findings of their agencies “generally should not be the basis” for news releases. Mr. Pizzella argued that such releases tend to linger prominently in search results about companies and can prove misleading if a citation or other enforcement action “is ultimately found to be unjustified.” He instructed officials responsible for enforcing labor and em-

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Biden’s Vow Hardly Stirs Oil Industry

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

HOUSTON — Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s promise that he would “transition” the country away from oil and natural gas might hurt him politically in Texas and Pennsylvania, but it did not come as a surprise to many in the energy industry. Oil and gas executives have been keenly aware that the world is starting to move from fossil fuels toward renewable energy, although they strongly argue that their industry will continue to provide cheap and plentiful energy for decades to come. And several of them said on Friday that while they did not like Mr. Biden’s comments, they were not alarmed by them, either. What ultimately matters to the industry is not whether there would be an energy transition, but how rapid it would be and whether companies would be allowed to exploit oil and gas reserves by offsetting their environmental impact by capturing and storing greenhouse gas emissions. Large European oil companies are embracing the change that Mr. Biden called for as concerns over

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How Corporate America Is Helping to Get Out the Vote

By KATE KELLY and SAPNA MAHESHWARI

Bank of America is offering employees up to three hours of paid time to vote this year. The spirits company Diageo North America has declared a no-meeting day on Nov. 3. Best Buy is closing stores until noon that day, and PayPal is offering a half day, paid, to workers who volunteer at polling places. Less than two weeks before the general election, corporate America is having a civic awakening,

with thousands of companies encouraging voter participation by offering their workers paid time off, voter-education tools and interactive sessions on how elections work. Some are even providing marketing and free legal advice to local election boards or nonprofit get-out-the-vote groups. “Companies can’t do everything, but we can function in civil society in a way that really helps to encourage and enable civic participation,” said Franz Paasche, head of corporate affairs at Pay-

Pal, where the efforts have varied from paid time off to hosting a speaker series on elections. Two years ago, when executives from PayPal, Patagonia and Levi Strauss founded Time to Vote, a nonpartisan project that asks companies to encourage workers to participate in elections, there were around 400 members. In recent weeks, membership has shot up to more than 1,700. A similar initiative, called A Day for Democracy, has attracted more than 350 companies since it

began with seven Boston-area companies in July. ElectionDay.org, sponsored by the nonprofit organization Vote.org, has gathered pledges from more than 800 companies promising employees paid time to vote. Most companies are quick to say that their goal isn’t to wade

Corley Kenna, co-founder of the nonpartisan initiative Time to Vote, at an Atlanta polling site.



AUDRA MELTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Digest

ECONOMY

Earnings Reports Reflect Rising Consumer Demand

Even as millions of Americans remain unemployed during the coronavirus pandemic, workers who have kept their jobs may find themselves with seemingly more discretionary money to spend. Some earnings reports this week reflect that trend.

Whirlpool reported that net sales in the third quarter were up 3.9 percent from a year earlier, after sales were down 22 percent in the second quarter. Chipotle said revenue increased 14.1 percent in the third quarter compared with last year. Revenue decreased 4.8 percent in the second quarter.

As the holiday season approaches, earnings reports already show demand rising for gifts. The toy company Mattel reported on Thursday that doll sales were up 22 percent for the third quarter.

Sales of basic necessities like groceries are leveling out, months after people panic-bought toilet paper and cleaning supplies. Kimberly-Clark reported that consumer tissue sales were up 11 percent in North America, a smaller increase than the previous quarter.

The grocery chain Albertson's reported sales and other revenue increased more than 11 percent to \$15.8 billion during the second quarter, compared with \$14.2 billion a year earlier, with revenue from digital sales up 243 percent as consumers looked to avoid crowded stores.

Abbott Laboratories and Thermo Fisher Scientific, both big players in coronavirus testing, reported significant growth. Abbott's \$881 million in testing revenue accounted for nearly 10 percent of its total sales in the third quarter, and Thermo Fisher generated \$2 billion in virus-related revenue, up from \$1.3 billion last quarter. *GILLIAN FRIEDMAN*

AUTOMOBILES

Daimler Can Ride Out Virus Wave, C.F.O. Says

A top executive of the German carmaker Daimler said on Friday that he did not expect a new surge in coronavirus infections to be as destructive to vehicle manufacturing as the first wave earlier in the year, when almost all major carmakers were forced to suspend production and close dealerships.

Harald Wilhelm, Daimler's chief financial officer, said that showroom traffic remained strong and that parts were flowing, even though infection rates were reaching new highs in many European regions.

"I'm not aware that we have any problems with supply chains," Mr. Wilhelm told reporters during a conference call. He added that the company was watching developments closely.

If big manufacturers like Daimler are able to keep operating and employing people, the economic impact of the pandemic may not be as bad as it was in March and April. Still, as countries like



RONALD WITTEK/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

France, Denmark and Germany impose curfews and other restrictions on daily life, the effect is certain to be significant and unpredictable.

Daimler, the maker of Mercedes cars and trucks, said that net profit in the third quarter rose 19 percent to 2.2 billion euros, or \$2.6 billion, as the company was able to offset a decline in sales with cost cuts.

While sales have improved from low points a few months ago, Daimler said it did not expect to be able to recoup all of the sales it lost earlier in the year. *JACK EWING*



S&P 500 INDEX
+0.34%
3,465.39



DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS
-0.10%
28,335.57



NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX
+0.37%
11,548.28



10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD
0.85%
-0.02 points



CRUDE OIL (U.S.)
\$39.85
-\$0.79



GOLD (N.Y.)
\$1,902.00
+\$0.90

Indexes End Mostly Up in Wobbly Session

By The Associated Press

U.S. stock indexes closed mostly higher on Friday, though the S&P 500 posted its first weekly loss in four weeks.

The benchmark index eked out a 0.3 percent gain after another day of wobbly trading. The Dow

STOCKS & BONDS

Jones industrial average finished with a small loss. Gains in communication services, health care and other sectors outweighed a decline in technology and energy companies. Treasury yields remained near their highest levels since June.

The indexes bounced between small gains and losses after a sluggish start as investors weighed another batch of corporate results from the summer earnings period. The up-and-down moves have been a familiar pattern recently as traders keep an eye on the ongoing negotiations between Republican and Democratic leaders in Washington over more economic aid for the pandemic-stricken economy.

The S&P 500 rose 11.90 points to 3,465.39, its second straight gain. The Dow Jones industrial average dropped 28.09 points, or 0.1 percent, to 28,335.57. The Nasdaq composite, which is heavily weighted with technology stocks, gained 42.28 points, or 0.4 percent, to 11,548.28. The index had been down 0.6 percent.

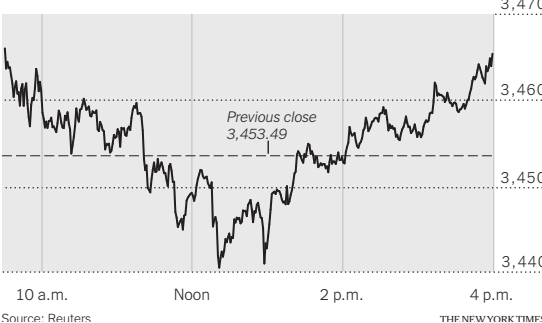
Small-company stocks continued to best the rest of the market. The Russell 2000 index rose 10.25 points, or 0.6 percent, to 1,640.50. The index ended the week with a 0.4 percent gain, while the major U.S. indexes fell.

Stocks have been mostly pushing higher this month after giving back some of their big gains this year in a sudden September swoon. Before this week, the S&P 500 had notched a weekly gain three weeks in a row. It's now up 3 percent for the month heading into the final week of October.

Investors are hoping for another round of government aid for businesses and millions of people who have lost their jobs during the coronavirus pandemic. The last

The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Friday.



Source: Reuters

THE NEW YORK TIMES

round of supplemental aid for unemployed Americans expired at the end of July.

While House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin have been negotiating daily this week on a possible aid package. On Thursday, Ms. Pelosi said that progress is still being made, but any compromise will likely face stiff resistance from Republicans in the Senate.

A sluggish S&P 500 posts its first weekly loss in four weeks.

Wall Street is worried that if an agreement on more economic aid isn't reached before the Nov. 3 election, it could leave the matter in limbo should there be a protracted delay in sorting out the outcome of the voting.

In their debate on Thursday night, President Trump and Joseph R. Biden Jr., his Democratic rival, managed a more substantive exchange than during their first raucous clash several weeks ago. There were no major market-moving surprises.

Uncertainty over whether Uncle Sam will provide more support for the economy was overshadowing solid earnings reports from big companies. While many have reported profits for the summer

that took a hit from the coronavirus-caused recession, their results have been mostly not as bad as feared.

The toymaker Mattel jumped 9.6 percent after its latest earnings blew past analysts' forecasts. Capital One Financial gained 1.6 percent after turning in robust results.

Some companies' results didn't live up to Wall Street's expectations. American Express fell 3.6 percent, and the chip-maker Intel sank 10.6 percent, the biggest decline in the S&P 500, after reporting weakness in its data center business. Intel's drop helped pull the Dow into the red.

The drugmaker Gilead rose 0.2 percent after U.S. regulators gave formal approval to its antiviral drug remdesivir to treat patients hospitalized with Covid-19.

Treasury yields declined but remained near their highest levels since June. The 10-year Treasury yield slipped to 0.85 percent from 0.87 percent late Thursday.

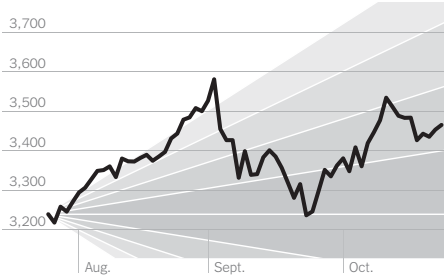
The recent pickup in bond yields follows recent encouraging data on residential construction, homebuying and retail sales. It also suggests that bond investors are more optimistic that the economy will receive more aid from Washington.

The markets in Europe closed higher, and Asian markets mostly rose.

What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

POWERED BY
REFINITIV

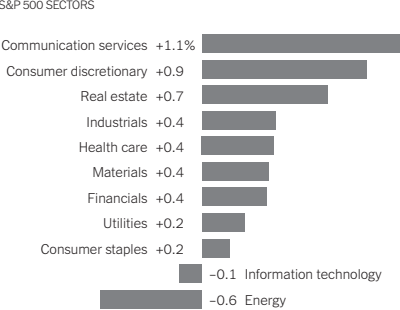
S&P 500 3465.39 ↑0.3%



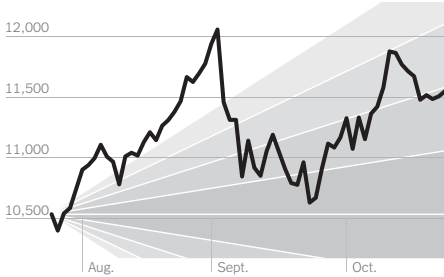
Best performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. SVB Financia (SIVB)	\$296.38	+4.0%
2. Flowserve Cor (FLS)	31.75	+3.9
3. DexCom Inc (DXCM)	411.00	+3.8
4. Norwegian Cr (NCLH)	18.35	+3.6
5. Align Techno (ALGN)	469.56	+3.6
6. D.R. Horton I (DHI)	73.06	+3.5
7. Under Armour (UAA)	14.66	+3.4
8. Under Armour (UAA)	14.66	+3.4
9. Motorola Solu (MSI)	174.78	+3.4
10. Everest Re Gro (RE)	214.02	+3.4

Sector performance



Nasdaq Composite Index 11548.28 ↑0.4%



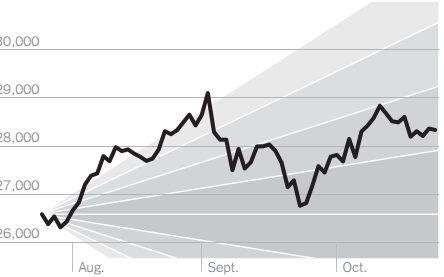
Worst performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Intel Corp (INTC)	\$48.20	-10.6%
2. Robert Half I (RHI)	51.67	-8.3
3. TechnipFMC PL (FTI)	6.47	-5.7
4. American Airl (AAL)	12.60	-4.2
5. American Expr (AXP)	100.98	-3.6
6. Verisign Inc (VRSN)	200.80	-3.4
7. Citrix Syste (CTXS)	122.72	-3.1
8. Western Digit (WDC)	41.72	-2.8
9. Micron Technol (MU)	52.85	-2.8
10. Cabot Oil & G (COG)	19.68	-2.4

Most active

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE	VOLUME IN MIL.
1. General Electr (GE)	\$7.63	-1.2%	132.4
2. Intel Corp (INTC)	48.20	-10.6	97.3
3. American Airl (AAL)	12.60	-4.2	90.5
4. Apple Inc (AAPL)	115.04	-0.6	82.3
5. Ford Motor Co (F)	8.16	-0.6	62.0
6. Bank of Ameri (BAC)	24.90	+0.1	51.0
7. Advanced Micr (AMD)	81.96	+3.2	46.4
8. AT&T Inc (T)	27.82	-1.6	42.6
9. Gilead Scien (GILD)	60.79	+0.2	30.9
10. Marathon Oil (MRO)	4.44	+1.6	30.6

Dow Jones Industrials 28335.57 ↓0.1%

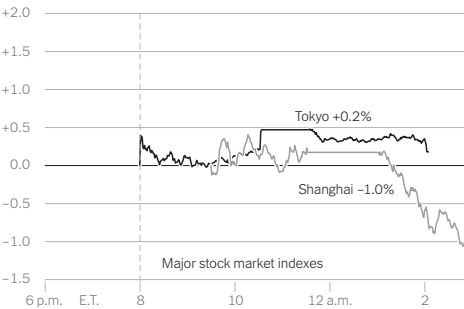


Municipal bond funds

	TOTAL RETURN 1 YR	TOTAL RETURN 5 YRS	TOTAL ASSETS IN BIL.
1. Vanguard Inter-Term Tx-Ex Adm (VWIUX)	+4.0%	+3.4%	\$74.7
2. Vanguard Ltd-Term Tx-Ex Adm (VMLUX)	+3.2	+2.1	31.0
3. Vanguard Short-Term Tx-Ex Adm (VWSUX)	+2.0	+1.4	18.3
4. Vanguard CA Inter-Term Tax-Exempt Adm (VCADX)	+3.7	+3.4	15.6
5. Vanguard Long-Term Tax-Exempt Adm (VWLUX)	+4.3	+4.4	14.5
6. Vanguard High-Yield Tax-Exempt Adm (VWALX)	+2.9	+4.6	13.7
7. American Funds Tax-Exempt Bond A (AFTEX)	+3.0	+3.4	12.8
8. Franklin CA Tax Free Income A1 (FKTFX)	+3.0	+4.0	11.3
9. Nuveen Intermediate Duration Muni Bd I (NUVBX)	+2.8	+3.5	8.2
10. Franklin Federal Tax Free Income A1 (FKTIX)	+3.0	+3.0	7.0

Source: Morningstar

How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ...



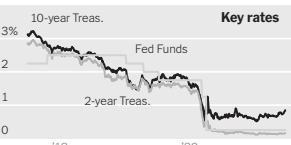
... in Europe



... and in the Americas.

What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

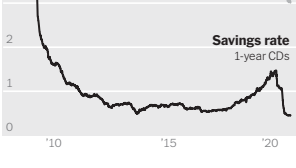
Bonds



Currencies



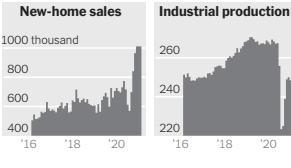
Consumer rates



Commodities



Economy



REGULATION

The ‘Right to Repair’ Movement Confronts Throwaway Culture

By PAOLA ROSA-AQUINO

If you buy a product — a car, a smartphone, or even a tractor — and it breaks, should it be easier for you to fix it yourself?

Manufacturers of a wide range of products have made it increasingly difficult over the years to repair things, for instance by limiting availability of parts or by putting prohibitions on who gets to tinker with them. It affects not only game consoles or farm equipment, but cellphones, military gear, refrigerators, automobiles and even hospital ventilators, the lifesaving devices that have proven crucial this year in fighting the Covid-19 pandemic.

Now, a movement known as “right to repair” is starting to make progress in pushing for laws that prohibit restrictions like these.

This August, Democrats introduced a bill in Congress to block manufacturers’ limits on medical devices, spurred by the pandemic. In Europe, the European Commission announced plans in March for new right-to-repair rules that would cover phones, tablets, and laptops by 2021.

In less than two weeks, Massachusetts voters will consider a measure that would make it easier for local garages to work on cars. And in more than 20 statehouses nationwide, right-to-repair legislation has been introduced in recent years by both Republicans and Democrats.

Over the summer, the House advanced a funding bill that includes a requirement that the FTC complete a report on anticompetitive practices in the repair market and present its findings to Congress and the public. And in a letter to the Federal Trade Commission, Marine Captain Elle Ekman and former Marine Lucas Kunce last year detailed how mechanics in the American armed forces have run into similar obstacles.

The goal of right-to-repair rules, advocates say, is to require companies to make their parts, tools and information available to consumers and repair shops in order to keep devices from ending up in the scrap heap. They argue that the rules restrict people’s use of devices that they own and encourage a throwaway culture by making repairs too difficult.

They also argue that it’s part of a culture of planned obsolescence — the idea that products are designed to be short-lived in order to encourage people to buy more stuff. That contributes to wasted natural resources and energy use at a time when climate change requires movement in the opposite direction to rein in planet-warming emissions.

Manufacturing a new device or appliance is still largely reliant on polluting sources of energy — electricity generated from burning fossil fuels, for instance — and constitutes the largest environmental impact for most products. Mining and manufacturing materials for the newest iPhone, for example, represents roughly 83 percent of its contribution to the heat-trapping emissions in the atmosphere throughout its life cycle, according to Apple’s manufacturing data. For a washing machine, it’s about 57 percent.

Add to that complex calculus the emissions from assembling the materials into a product, and



PJR, VIA ALAMY

Last fall, Apple said it would give independent shops the same parts and other tools for iPhone repairs as it provides to company-authorized service providers. A copper and cobalt mine in Congo, left. Mining and manufacturing materials for smartphones represent a majority of the devices’ contribution to greenhouse gas emissions.



JONNY HOGG/REUTERS

then shipping it around the world.

“There are a lot of products that are not designed to last,” said Gay Gordon-Byrne, the executive director of the Repair Association, a group focused on right-to-repair legislation. “But if you have enough options for repair, you can keep even the worst product going, if you can fix it.”

Manufacturers argue that their products are repairable, and that they are protecting consumers’ safety, privacy and security by restricting who does the repairs. Apple, for instance, limits consumers from repairing their devices by requiring specific tools or authorized parts.

“When a repair is needed, a customer should have confidence the repair is done right,” Jeff Williams, Apple’s chief operating officer, said in a release last year. “We believe the safest and most reliable repair is one handled by a trained technician using genuine parts that have been properly engineered and rigorously tested.”

An Apple spokeswoman this week pointed to the company’s efforts to expand its product repair programs: Last fall, the tech giant announced it will give independent repair businesses the same genuine parts, tools, and diagnos-

tics for iPhone repairs as it gives to Apple-authorized service providers.

Other companies argue that the computer code that drives the device remains the property of the manufacturer, not the consumer, which further limits the potential for third-party repair. Tractor manufacturer John Deere is one example, using license agreements with farmers that forbid them from even looking at the software running the tractor. Violating it could be considered breach of contract, which comes with the risk of a lawsuit.

Jen Hartmann, John Deere’s director of strategic public relations, said the company has “made an industry commitment along with several ag equipment manufacturers to provide a comprehensive tool kit of service tools available to help end users perform service and maintenance on their machinery.”

For Leticia Reynolds earlier this year, it was a safety issue of a different sort. As a medical equipment technician at Memorial Hospital in Colorado Springs, she was eager to get ventilators in service. The country faced a nationwide shortage of the lifesaving machines, which help desperately ill

patients breathe.

But there were some that Ms. Reynolds couldn’t fix herself, because the manufacturer wouldn’t let her. Some ventilator makers are among those companies imposing rules prohibiting anyone but their own technicians from obtaining the tools, parts, and instructions to make repairs.

“We’re 100-percent solely depending on the manufacturer,” she said, even for routine maintenance. But that can delay repairs, which can mean “equipment isn’t available for a patient that needs it.”

Over the past year or so, as much of the world was cooped up due to stay-at-home restrictions, sales of Nintendo’s Switch console have increased sharply. But players have been struggling with a problem that has plagued its detachable wireless controllers, called Joy-Cons, for years: Sometimes it thinks players are moving the controller, even if they aren’t.

That led to a class-action lawsuit claiming, among other things, that the company “routinely refuses to repair the joysticks without charge.” The case is now in arbitration, and since then, the company has begun fixing Joy-Con issues at no charge.

Still, the fight continues: Last month, a French consumer advocacy group filed a complaint alleging planned obsolescence, claiming Nintendo knew some controllers were failing too quickly.

Nintendo did not respond to a request for comment.

While these burdens on repair can make some gadgets seem unusable and, consequently, disposable, some argue that new repair mandates wouldn’t have a measurable effect on how often people replace their products.

“Common consumer devices such as laptops and smartphones are already widely reused and recycled without any type of new repair mandate,” said Walter Alcorn, vice president of environmental affairs at the Consumer Technology Association, an industry trade group that represents thousands of technology companies including Apple, Dell, and Microsoft.

He said that CTA’s biennial survey showed that only 2 percent of consumers “report throwing their old mobile device in the trash while more than 10 times as many

Manufacturers argue they are protecting consumers’ safety, privacy and security.

reported either trading in their old mobile device, selling it, giving it away, or recycling it.”

The idea of planned obsolescence isn’t new. It was written about in 1928 by Justus George Frederick, an American advertising expert who suggested that people would have to buy an ever-increasing variety of things, then discard them and purchase new things, in order to help keep a consumer economy steaming along.

Since at least the early 1960s, critics have complained that planned obsolescence wastes people’s money, uses valuable resources and chokes landfills. Today, for example, there are more than 70 different elements in a modern smartphone — nearly two-thirds of the periodic table in the palm of your hand.

Ruling by European Parliament Keeps Veggie Burgers on the Menu

By ISABELLA KWAI

LONDON — When is a burger not a burger? When it contains no meat. At least according to a divisive proposal that was in front of the European Parliament this week, part of a set of measures that would have banned the use of terms like “steak,” “sausage,” “escallop” or “burger” on labels for plant-based alternative products.

But after a decisive vote against the measure on Friday, it seems veggie burgers will still be on the menu.

“Reason prevailed, and climate sinners lost,” Nikolaj Villumsen, a member of the European Parliament from Denmark posted on Twitter. “It’s worth celebrating with a veggie burger.”

A proposal to expand a ban on descriptions such as “yogurt-style” or “cream imitation” for nondairy replacements did pass, extending previous limitations on the use of words like “milk” and “butter” on nondairy alternatives.

The proposed changes — a small part of a package of agricultural measures — received more attention than perhaps desired either by their proponents among meat and livestock groups, who said they would prefer to focus on helping farmers work sustainably,

or the environmentalists and food manufacturers opposing it, for whom it is a distraction from climate-change policy.

Jasmijn de Boo, vice president of ProVeg International, a group aimed at reducing meat consumption, said that the proposal was not in the interest of consumers or manufacturers, and that shoppers

Proposed changes got more attention than either side wanted.

were not confused by the labels currently on store shelves.

“Why change something to a ‘veggie disc’ or ‘tube’ instead of a sausage?” she said. “It’s ridiculous.”

Those in favor of the change said that labeling plant-based products with meat terms were misleading and could open the door for other confusing labels.

“We simply call for the work of millions of European farmers and livestock sector workers to be acknowledged and respected,” Jean-Pierre Fleury, the chairman of

Copa-Cogeca, Europe’s largest farming lobby group, said in a statement this month. He described the use of meatlike names for plant-based products as “cultural hijacking.”

The decision is a victory for environmental advocates over an E.U. farming lobby that is one of the strongest voices in the bloc and plays an outsize role in policymaking, considering that the sector has been shrinking for years.

Camille Perrin, the senior food policy officer at the European Consumer Organization, called decision “great news” and a “common sense” vote.

“Consumers are in no way confused by a soy steak or chickpea-based sausage, so long as it is clearly labeled as vegetarian or vegan,” she said in a statement after the vote. “Terms such as ‘burger’ or ‘steak’ on plant-based items simply make it much easier for consumers to know how to integrate these products within a meal.”

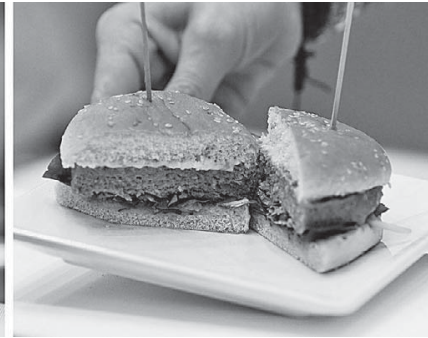
It is not the first debate over plant-based foods as that sector has exploded in recent years.

Labels for plant-based dairy alternatives like “soy milk” or “tofu butter” are illegal in the bloc after dairy producers won a 2017 ruling that was backed by the European



CARSTEN KOALL/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK; DANIEL ROLAND/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A lobby group called it “cultural hijacking” to put a vegan burger, right, in the same category as a beef burger.



Court of Justice.

In 2018, France banned the use of meat terms to describe vegetarian products. In dozens of states in the U.S., advocates of vegetarian food have clashed with farmers and lobbyists over legislation that makes it illegal for plant-based products to be called meat.

Several parties in the European Parliament had also submitted proposals with different caveats since the initial amendment was introduced, and those are still to be voted on. Manufacturers like Beyond Meat, Unilever and Ikea, along with the European Medical Association, have opposed the changes, which they described in an open letter as “disproportionate and out of step with the current climate.”

Many said that approving the

amendment would be counter to a goal set by the European Parliament this month to reduce carbon emissions 60 percent by 2030.

And shoppers seem to like the names. In a 2020 survey from the European Consumer Organization, about 42 percent of respondents said they believed “meaty” names for plant-based products should be permitted if products were clearly labeled vegetarian or vegan. Twenty-five percent said that such names should be banned.

A spokesman for Copa-Cogeca said the organization did not believe that shoppers could not tell the difference between meat and plant-based products, and said that farmers were not against vegetable alternatives. But he said that differentiating the mar-

Research suggests that consumer devices may be more short-lived than in the past. According to a study by a German sustainability research group, Öko-Institut, the proportion of major household appliances that died within five years rose from 3.5 percent in 2004 to 8.3 percent in 2012. Though the analysis is now several years old, it found the trend in a wide spectrum of products, including TV sets and large electrical appliances as well as mobile phones.

Extending the life of a product even relatively briefly can have significant benefits, according to Nathan Proctor, who leads the right-to-repair campaign at the U.S. Public Interest Research Group, a consumer advocacy group. If Americans would extend the life of their cellphones by one year, for instance, it would be the climate-saving equivalent of taking 636,000 cars off the road, or about the amount of passenger vehicles registered in the state of New Mexico.

Right to repair advocates like Ms. Gordon-Byrne and Mr. Proctor highlight recent strides in the automotive industry. In next month’s election, Massachusetts will have a question on the ballot designed to ensure that drivers will continue to be able to have local repair shops — not just authorized dealers — work on their cars as they become more automated and manufacturers control access to that data.

That measure is designed to build on a 2012 bill in the state that required carmakers to provide independent repair shops with access to the diagnostic tools that had been available only to dealerships.

The new measure, known as Question 1 on the ballot, has met resistance.

“If Question 1 passes in Massachusetts, anyone could access the most personal data stored in your vehicle,” says the narrator in one advertisement. The campaign against the measure talks about the risks of hacking, identity theft and cyberstalking as part of a multimillion-dollar advertising spend by a group called Coalition for Safe and Secure Data, a manufacturer-backed organization that is fighting the question in November.

Conor Yunits, a spokesman for the coalition, said it sees the new measure as unnecessary: “Massachusetts is already the only state that has a right to repair law on the books. The technology they care about — telematics — is already covered by the existing law. In our view, this is an attempt by national auto parts chains to get access to more consumer data.”

Manufacturers have considerable influence over the standards to which their products are made, said Mark Schaffer, a consultant on the life cycle of electronics. According to a 2017 report that he wrote, that’s because major manufacturers sit on the panels that set guidelines for things like environmental impact. As a result, he said, tougher standards can be difficult to achieve.

“As a whole, the industry needs to raise the floor on reparability,” Mr. Schaffer said. “That’s probably not going to happen until there is a legal requirement at a state or at a national level.”

— much like those of butter and margarine — was among a host of initiatives that would support struggling farmers who are trying to adapt to a world more focused on sustainability. Some said the proposal would provide more fodder for what critics call the European Union’s penchant for overregulation. Alexander Stubb, a former prime minister of Finland, said the bloc should legislate only “where there are impediments to the free movement of goods, services, money and people.”

He described the amendment as “overkill” that would bolster the arguments of those who campaigned for Britain’s exit from the bloc: “This is one of these symbolic sad cases — a bit like legislating on the curve of cucumbers.”

Corporate America Finds Creative Ways To Get Out the Vote

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

into politics or get any particular candidate into office. Rather, many executives say that they were galvanized by recent upheavals that have put issues of race and gender discrimination, economic inequality, climate change and other topics at center stage for employees and customers, and voting is a way to take a stand.

“Black Lives Matter and the civil unrest has been a call to arms for C.E.O.s in terms of informing corporate behaviors and civic actions,” said Peter Palandjian, a private-equity executive in Bos-

‘We’ve been very clear about not being partisan.’

Laura Watt, executive vice president of human resources, Diageo North America

ton who started A Day for Democracy with commitments from the Red Sox and Bank of America. “And I think that’s what’s very different this year.”

Earlier this week, Goldman Sachs announced that it would give workers up to half a day off to vote, paid, for the first time. Other companies that have offered paid time to vote in the past, including Citi and Gap Inc., have announced that they’re providing additional paid hours if needed as well as voter-education resources this year.

The extra hours are likely to be necessary given that a record turnout is expected this year, which could mean long lines and additional safety procedures in light of the pandemic. In anticipation, Diageo North America, which owns brands like Guinness and Smirnoff, is changing course and allowing employees to take whatever time they need to vote without a written request. Previously, employees were given up to two hours of paid time off to vote, which they had to request in advance. The company also plans to set up a team for workers to call if they run into any trouble casting

their ballots, said Laura Watt, its executive vice president of human resources.

Some companies are hoping to encourage voter turnout in general. Shake Shack is giving away free french fries to customers who vote early. Tory Burch, the clothing label, designed a T-shirt that reads “VOTE,” the proceeds from which go to a nonpartisan get-out-the-vote project called I Am a Voter. Coca-Cola dispatched a team of marketers to create public-service announcements on the importance of early, in-person voting that ran on radio, television and at bus shelters around its home state of Georgia; broadcast spots featured the voices of Ed Bastian, chief executive of Delta, the Atlanta Hawks forward Cam Reddish and other local celebrities.

Corley Kenna, who runs communications at Patagonia and co-founded Time to Vote, took advantage of additional benefits her employer is providing this year to work at election sites in Atlanta, her hometown, with two colleagues. Between morning and afternoon shifts at the State Farm Arena and the Southwest Arts Center this month, she caught up on work.

“I think it is on all of us — the private sector, nonprofit, academia — to help provide safe and secure elections,” said Ms. Kenna, a Democrat and environmental advocate who was a senior adviser in the State Department under President Obama.

Old Navy, the biggest brand owned by Gap, said it would pay employees to be poll workers, on top of what they get paid by county election commissions. The retailer said it hoped its policy would fuel voter turnout among its young store staff, more than 60 percent of whom are between the ages of 18 and 29. Levi’s extended its paid time off for voting to poll worker training this year and has been featuring environmental and racial justice activists on its Instagram account to talk about voting.

The push by retailers and restaurant chains is significant because it can be especially difficult for hourly workers to find time to vote. After health care, retail is the second-biggest private sector employer in the United States.

In addition to making sure that their efforts are not being seen as partisan externally, companies have been careful about how they communicate internally. Diageo North America has been holding weekly events in the run-up to the



The Southwest Art Center polling location in Atlanta, above. Lisa Pike Sheehy, below left, and Hilary Dessouky, below center, colleagues of Corley Kenna’s at Patagonia, took advantage of a benefit that has been extended by their employer, to use time off to serve as poll watchers.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY AUDRA MELTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

election with the African heritage group and women’s network, for example, discussing the issues at stake for their communities, but in a “neutral way,” Ms. Watt said. “We’ve been very clear about not being partisan or not having a particular view leaning one way or another,” she said.

At PayPal, dozens of employees have participated in PayPal Votes, a multipronged internal effort that directs people to polling sites and other voter information and sponsors an election newsletter and guest speakers. A Sept. 10 interview with Alex Padilla, the California secretary of state, on voting procedures drew 600 participants.

Still, not every company is being so proactive. Workers at Ama-

zon, who have been pushing unsuccessfully for a paid day off to vote, are threatening to shut down warehouses temporarily on Oct. 31 if the e-commerce giant doesn’t meet their demands. And on Thursday, Vote.org, a digital platform that helps people register to vote online and provides information about polling sites, called on more than two dozen companies that have not yet committed to giving workers time off to do so. It cited Pew Research Center statistics from 2014 showing that in the past, 35 percent of registered voters didn’t vote because of work or school conflicts.

Tory Burch, which employs nearly 3,000 people in the United States, was one of the few companies offering employees paid time

off to vote in 2016, when its founder wrote an op-ed encouraging other company bosses to do the same. At the time, fellow chief executives, some from Fortune 500 companies, told Ms. Burch that they couldn’t follow suit because doing so would be regarded as a partisan act, intended to favor Democratic candidates.

The feedback was “eye opening,” Ms. Burch recalled, given that “encouraging Americans to use their vote is patriotic and not a Democratic initiative.” This year, she is closing all stores and offices on Nov. 3 and encouraging her staff to volunteer as poll workers, believing that the employee good will it generates far outweighs the lost revenue.

In a note to employees Thurs-

day morning reminding them of their options to take paid time off to vote, Jamie Dimon, the chief executive of JPMorgan Chase, talked about the importance of a smooth political process.

“The peaceful and stable transition of power — whether it is to the second administration of a president or a new one — is a hallmark of America’s 244-year history as an independent nation,” Mr. Dimon wrote, adding that while he acknowledges the “tremendous passion and strong opinions” that have played into the current race, respecting the democratic process “is paramount.”

Michael Corkery and Karen Weise contributed reporting.

Biden’s Vow to Steer U.S. Away From Oil Hardly Stirs Industry

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

climate change grow and investors begin to shun fossil-fuel businesses. For example, BP has announced that over the next decade it will shrink its oil and gas production by 40 percent and increase investments of renewables tenfold, to \$5 billion a year.

But the U.S. oil industry, which has donated much more to President Trump’s campaign than to Mr. Biden’s, has been more reluctant to change its business models.

Executives note that natural gas is rapidly replacing coal, the dirtiest fossil fuel. Gas also complements renewables by providing power when the sun does not shine and the wind is still. Some energy executives have even endorsed levying a tax on the emissions that are causing climate change, arguing that it would create incentives for carbon capture and storage, which would reduce emissions.

“There needs to be a large workhorse, and ultimately that is what we are,” said George Stark, director of external affairs for Cabot Oil and Gas, which has extensive natural gas operations in Pennsylvania. “We complement wind and solar. You need something that can run on an ongoing basis.”

Mr. Stark, like others in the industry, said he found Mr. Biden’s comments concerning, but stopped short of criticizing the former vice president harshly. “The opportunity will be there for a greener dialogue that has to take place regarding this whole notion of a transition,” he said.

In Thursday’s debate, Mr. Biden said he would seek to replace fossil fuels with renewables “over time,” noting that the oil industry “pollutes significantly.”

But he had previously said he was against ending hydraulic fracturing of shale fields, a common practice in Pennsylvania, Texas and Ohio. And some oil and gas executives said they liked parts of an energy plan that Mr. Biden put out this summer.



BRANDON THIBODEAUX FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A day after Joseph R. Biden Jr. called for a transition away from oil and natural gas, industry executives said the country would need its products for decades to come. “We complement wind and solar,” said one official.

After the debate, Mr. Biden sought to clarify his remarks by saying fossil fuels would not be eliminated until 2050. In remarks that seemed designed to appeal to Democratic progressives and working-class voters who rely on fossil fuel jobs, he added that he wanted to eliminate fossil fuel subsidies.

“Of course we were disappointed in the vice president’s comments,” Mike Sommers, president of the American Petroleum Institute, the industry’s leading lobbying group in Washington, said in an interview. “You can’t just snap your fingers and get to a place where you are suddenly no longer using natural gas.”

But Mr. Sommers also noted that Mr. Biden had expressed enough ambiguity that a rapid change in oil and gas shale fields was not likely.

“Fracking right now is the political equivalent of Social Security,” Mr. Sommers said. “It is good

news for this industry and the American people that both major-party candidates understand the importance of this innovation that has made the United States almost energy independent.”

How quickly the world moves from fossil fuels to renewables will depend on the policies of govern-

lieve that demand for oil and gas will begin to decline over the next five to 10 years, the fuels will continue to be used for decades. The International Energy Agency, a multilateral organization, for example, recently said it was “still too early to foresee a rapid decline in oil demand” given the policies that countries had adopted so far.

The timing of the transition is hard to pin down, in part because the energy industry has been undergoing rapid change in recent years. The United States was importing increasing amounts of oil and natural gas just 15 years ago when suddenly hydraulic fracturing produced a glut of both fuels and made the United States a large exporter.

Now electric cars are becoming increasingly popular, and the costs of wind and solar power are dropping rapidly. Coal, which was the dominant power fuel at the beginning of the century, is in deep decline, losing out to natural gas

and renewables.

“The fact that oil and gas are 70 percent of the world’s energy means that you can’t change that on a dime,” said Jon Olson, chairman of the petroleum and geosystems engineering department at the University of Texas at Austin. “If we don’t manage the transition really well, we could end up with energy shortages and all kinds of disasters.”

That still leaves the enduring politics of oil and gas in places, like Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas, that the Democrats would like to win but where tens of thousands of jobs are directly or indirectly linked to fossil fuel production or processing. One plant, being built by Royal Dutch Shell in Western Pennsylvania to produce plastics from a natural gas byproduct, is providing construction jobs for thousands of workers.

After watching the debate, Mike Belding, chairman of the Greene County Commission in Western Pennsylvania, said he was concerned about the economic consequences of a Biden presidency.

“Regionally, coal, natural gas and oil have been an economic and work force-driving industry over the past century,” he said in an email. “Newly developed technology, like fracking and cracker plant operations, have great potential to drive our economies for the next century.”

But the growth of oil and gas exploration in recent years has also angered some voters in Pennsylvania, who said it had not been an economic boon to many residents and criticized the industry’s environmental record.

“We’ve been transitioning, and let’s keep transitioning,” said Lois Bower-Bjornson, a resident of Washington County in southwestern Pennsylvania and a field organizer for the Clean Air Council, an environmental group. “It’s a question of economics. They’ve produced too much gas and have nowhere to put it.”

Peter Eavis contributed reporting.

Personal Finance

Selling a Business and Saving a Legacy

Making employees owners can keep a company together and strong, but may make it undervalued.

Wealth Matters

By PAUL SULLIVAN

In early 2000, Michael and Lynn Terry started a business selling horse trailers that were lighter than their competitors' and customized to each client's needs. Nearly two decades later, their company, Cimarron Trailers, with tens of millions of dollars in sales, employed more than 130 people in Chickasha, Okla., and their trailers were sold at 30 dealerships across the country.

And they wanted to retire.

But as the couple, who met in high school, contemplated a sale, they faced a conundrum: They had offers from dealers and competitors to buy their business; they also had an offer from a private equity firm for a price so high they were shocked.

But none of those offers guaranteed that Cimarron would continue as a business with its 130 employees working in its community.

"We thought, this has got to go on," Mrs. Terry said. "We're one of the bigger employers here in Chickasha."

So the Terrys went with a less lucrative option a couple of years ago: selling their company to their employees. But it ensured that their company would stay in Chickasha and their employees would continue to have jobs. It also allowed them to be paid for the company they created and retire in their community.

"Was it easy? No," Mrs. Terry said. "But it was the best for the future of Cimarron going forward."

Employee-owned companies are still a small segment of the U.S. corporate landscape. The number has stayed about 6,500 for the past decade, said James J. Bonham, president and chief executive of the ESOP, the trade group for employee-owned businesses. But he said there were now some 10.5 million employees who own stakes in the companies they work for, through employee stock ownership programs, or ESOPs, as they're known.

For families who own businesses and are wondering about their next step, selling to employees is an opportunity that analysts say owners should consider. It keeps the company intact, it has tax benefits for the company and the owners, and it allows the owners to sell without worrying that the business might be gutted and sold off in parts.

Yet it does have downsides. It's a complicated structure, which comes under the regulatory scrutiny of the Labor Department, because employee ownership stakes are held in their retirement plan until they leave the company.

"It's a complicated transaction," said Jere Doyle, family wealth strategist and senior vice president at Bank of New York Mellon, a wealth management firm. "If you talk to 100 people, you



NICK OXFORD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lynn and Michael Terry of Chickasha, Okla., sold Cimarron Trailers to their employees. "We thought, this has got to go on," Mrs. Terry said.

might get eight or 10 who go through the transaction."

But he said it's a structure, given its tax benefits, that could increase in popularity if federal tax rates begin to rise. "ESOPs may become more popular next year if the Democrats hit the trifecta and raise the capital gain rates to 39 percent," Mr. Doyle said.

When a family sells a company to a competitor or an investment fund, they run the risk that the identity of their company will die with the sale. It may become a division of someone else's company or worse, it may be combined with something else and sold off, never to exist again.

An ESOP allows the company to continue in its own right, guided by the employees who are the new owners. "If I sold my company to my competitors, do you think Ray Baker's name would ever be said again?" said Ken Baker, the chief executive of New Age Industries, the flexible tubing company his father, Ray, started in 1960 and his brother operated until he took it over. "We have a bust of my father in the lobby. His legacy and my brother's legacy continue on."

The Terrys initially thought their daughter and son-in-law might take over the business, but when that did not happen, they thought about how some of their key employees, like Ben

Janssen, the current president, could continue to run it.

In their case, Cimarron was bought by another ESOP, called Folience, which made the transaction quicker.

"There was a template in place," Mr. Terry said. "Folience gets together once a month to talk about their failures and successes. We didn't have that."

For the employees, owning the company gives a boost to their retirement income, as long as the company continues to grow. With an ESOP structure, the money that goes into it is tax-free, increasing the amount put away for the employee-owners.

John Stover, 71, who retired from New Age after 35 years as the director of sales, said he saved twice as much for his retirement in the 15 years New Age was an ESOP than he did in his previous 20 years at the company plus five years at another company. But he said he was skeptical at first.

"We didn't understand its potential," Mr. Stover said. "We said let's give it a chance. And the ESOP did what it's supposed to do: create an atmosphere where you're not just a worker anymore, you're a part-owner of the company, and it would behoove you to work harder."

During the pandemic, employee-owned companies performed better in retaining jobs for workers than nonem-

'We're 100 percent tax-free now, both federal and state.'

Ken Baker, C.E.O. of New Age Industries, which his father started in 1960.

ployee-owned companies, according to research conducted by Rutgers University's School of Management and Labor Relations and the Employee Ownership Foundation. They also maintained salaries and wages at a higher rate.

Money from the sale goes to the person who started the business. But the advantages come in many forms, including deferred taxes on the money put into an ESOP and the timing of the payout.

Mr. Doyle said more sophisticated structures allowed sellers to roll over some or all of the sale proceeds into securities, known as qualified replacement property. If the seller doesn't need the money, any capital gains in those securities will be erased at death and heirs will inherit the portfolio free of capital gains or income tax.

Mr. Baker sold New Age Industries to employees over time. When he sold his first 30 percent stake to the ESOP in 2006, the shares were valued at \$45. By

the time he sold the fourth and final tranche — 51 percent in 2019 — the shares were worth \$649.

"We're 100 percent tax-free now, both federal and state," Mr. Baker said. "That translates to a lot of dollars for a company our size. We saved \$14 million this year."

He said the company used the extra money to hire employees, buy equipment and continue to grow.

There are negatives to this ownership structure.

For one, the seller is not going to get the highest price when the employees buy the company. Nor will those employees see the company's value skyrocket the way it could if a competitor bought it.

"We pay fair market value," said Daniel Goldstein, the chief executive of Folience, the ESOP that holds Cimarron Trailers as well as an ambulance manufacturer and a newspaper publisher, both in Iowa. "ESOPs are prohibited from paying a premium."

That lower value ensures that employees are not overpaying for what will be the bulk of their retirement savings. It can also mean that these companies will later become ripe targets for the private equity funds that their founders avoided the first time around.

"There's also a lot of public information available, so private equity companies can come in with an offer that's X times higher than last year's value," Mr. Bonham said. "They know the valuation on the Department of Labor's Form 5500 is very conservative."

That federal regulation is the rub. Because the assets held by the ESOPs are retirement funds like any 401(k), the Labor Department has oversight. The companies need to bring in outside auditors annually so the employees know the values of their shares.

To sell again, though, the employees need to agree to the sale. Mr. Bonham pointed to New Belgium Brewery, the maker of Fat Tire beer, which became an ESOP in 2000 but was bought by a private equity firm at the end of last year.

"The employees all made a terrific amount of money and still have their jobs," he said. "If you don't work at an ESOP and your company is sold, you get nothing."

Not all families are comfortable with this prospect. Mr. Baker said he put provisions in the ESOP agreement requiring a supermajority of employees to agree for the company to be sold.

"I've put fences and walls around the company," he said. "I want the company to be around for 100 years and be employee-owned."

The Terrys say they are glad they took that road.

"I had a sense of pride about Cimarron," Mrs. Terry said. "I stay close to several of the employees. I'm so proud of them for taking it and running it."

With Loans Paused, New Graduates Shouldn't Delay

Further relief is in doubt, so take steps now to try to get a more affordable repayment plan before the January rush.

Your Money Adviser

By ANN CARRNS

Spring college graduates typically begin repaying their student loans in November. But this year, things are different.

Most federal student loans come with a six-month grace period before new graduates have to start making payments on their college debt. Because of the pandemic, however, repayment of most types of federal loans has been automatically suspended until the end of the year.

That means recent graduates won't have to start making payments until January, unless the government extends the payment "pause."

Advocates for student loan borrowers say a delay beyond January is needed. But it's uncertain if that will occur, given the contentious negotiations between Democrats in Congress and the Trump administration over further pandemic relief ahead of the Nov. 3 presidential election.

"We really do need an extension of this payment suspension," said Persis Yu, director of the Student Loan Borrower Assistance project at the National Consumer Law Center. "It's a really terrible situation for borrowers."

The class of 2020 graduated into a job market with historically high unemployment. While the jobs picture had been improving over the summer and early fall, jobless claims have been volatile and more companies are announcing layoffs. Nearly a third of college students agree that the pandemic has placed extra financial stress on their family, according to a new survey by AIG Retirement Services, a provider of retirement plans for universities and public sector employers, and EverFi, a provider of online education programs.

Because more help may not arrive, however, now is a good time to consider whether you'll need a repayment plan that's more affordable based on your income, or if you should consider requesting a traditional forbearance, or postponement of payments, when the



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automatic suspension lifts.

"The more prepared borrowers are, the better," Ms. Yu said.

You should receive a notice from your servicer — the company that handles billing for your loan — sometime before the end of the year indicating when repayment will begin and outlining options.

"Open all of your mail — email, and snail mail," said Betsy Mayotte, president and founder of the Institute of Student Loan Advisors, a nonprofit group.

If you don't get a notice or if you get one indicating a first-payment due date after January, contact your loan servicer to make sure it has up-to-date contact information for you and to confirm the date, Ms. Yu said.

Scott Buchanan, executive director of the Student Loan Servicing Alliance, a

trade group, said borrowers could choose a payment option now and revise it later if their financial circumstances changed.

"Now is a great time to do it," he said, before an expected rush in January, when some 30 million borrowers are expected to re-enter payment status.

But Moira Vahey, a spokeswoman for the Student Borrower Protection Center, an advocacy group, said servicers were not currently processing enrollments in "income-driven" payment plans. Borrowers can protect themselves, she said, by submitting an application now so it is on file when servicers do begin processing them again.

More information about payment plans is available at Studentaid.gov.

About two-thirds of students who graduated from college in 2019 had education debt, owing around \$29,000

Q. and A. About Repaying Student Loans

Should I repay my student loans if I can afford to, even during the suspension?

If you have the means to pay, it generally makes sense to do so unless you have higher-interest debt that you want to pay down, said Betsy Mayotte, president and founder of the Institute of Student Loan Advisors. If you don't make payments, you aren't reducing the amount you owe: the debt is being delayed, not forgiven.

Also, because interest on student loan balances was reduced to zero during the suspension, payments made now can help pay down the principal or at least reduce the amount you'll pay in interest, she said. (Interest that accrued before the payment pause began on March 13 — such as interest on "unsubsidized" federal student loans, which typically accrue while the student attends college — generally will be added to the loan's balance when repayment begins.)

There's another reason to write those checks even if it's just a couple of months early: Borrowers who haven't made loan payments in several months may have trouble getting back on track, Ms. Mayotte said. "One big indicator of repayment success is getting in the habit of doing it," she added.

Some borrowers who won't benefit by making payments during the pause, she said, are those who participate in the government's public service loan forgiveness program. The program, which forgives student debt for some borrowers who work full time in certain jobs and make a specific number of on-time payments, has been fraught with snafus.

The Education Department has said suspended payments will count as if

borrowers continued to make regular monthly payments for those who are otherwise eligible for the loan forgiveness program. But some borrowers have been so anxious about running afoul of the program's rules that they have declined the waiver and have continued to make payments, Ms. Mayotte said, adding, "Stop doing it."

Making the suspended payments won't make you eligible for public service loan forgiveness sooner, the department advises.

Borrowers who have made payments during the suspension and want the money back can contact their servicer and ask for a refund, according to the Education Department. But Ms. Vahey said borrowers were reporting delays in receiving requested refunds.

What about repayment of private student loans?

Private student loan lenders aren't required to offer temporary postponements, or forbearances, during the pandemic. Some have offered limited relief, however. Each servicer has different rules, so contact yours directly.

How can I find out whom my loan servicer is?

The Education Department recommends calling the Federal Student Aid Information Center at 800-433-3243. You can also check the National Student Loan Data System; you'll need to create a federal student aid logon, if you don't already have one.

For private loans, you can try contacting your college's financial aid office or reviewing your credit report.

owed. While that's "encouraging," the institute recently said, the economic fallout from the pandemic could make college less affordable, pushing students to borrow more.

LABOR

Gig-Work Giants Face the Ballot Fight of Their Lives in California

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
backed by Instacart and a delivery company that Uber is acquiring, Postmates, could be a harbinger for gig companies in the rest of the country.

Prop 22 would exempt the companies from complying with a law that went into effect at the beginning of the year, while offering limited benefits to drivers. The law is intended to force them to treat gig workers as employees, but Uber and its peers have resisted, fearing that the cost of benefits like unemployment insurance and health care could tip them into a downward financial spiral.

Though Uber and Lyft, for example, are publicly traded companies with a combined worth of \$70.5 billion, they have never been profitable. They lose billions of dollars each year, and the pandemic has made turning a profit even more difficult. DoorDash, which has filed to go public, has also struggled. Analysts estimate that complying with California's gig-worker law could cost Uber, which lost \$1.8 billion in its most recent quarter, as much as \$500 million a year.

Uber said it planned to cut off work for the approximately 158,000 California drivers who were active on the platform each quarter if its ballot measure failed. It would employ roughly 51,000 remaining drivers, it said, and raise fares to meet the higher business costs.

The ballot fight gained additional urgency Thursday evening when the California First District Court of Appeal ruled that Uber and Lyft must treat their California drivers as employees under the new labor law. The state attorney general and the city attorneys of San Francisco, Los Angeles and San Diego had sued the companies in May to enforce the law.

"If Prop 22 does not win, we will do our best to adjust," said Dara Khosrowshahi, Uber's chief executive, in a Wall Street Journal interview this week. "Where in California we can operate is a question mark, and the size and scale of the business will be substantially reduced."

In past dust-ups with local regulators, Uber rallied its passengers for support. The pandemic has made that difficult, so it has urged its tech employees to get involved and used its app to reach out to drivers for support.

The Yes on 22 campaign also started an effort to organize drivers, a move copied from the labor groups that have long tried to organize drivers to fight for better working conditions. And it has forged relationships with high-profile advocacy groups, like Mothers Against Drunk Driving and the California chapter of the N.A.A.C.P.

"Drivers want independence plus benefits by a four-to-one margin, and we're going to fight for them," said Julie Wood, a spokeswoman for Lyft. "We believe California voters are on the side of drivers, too."

A spokesman for DoorDash, Taylor Bennett, said, "Our support for Prop 22 is part of our commitment to protecting the economic opportunity that tens of thousands of Californians value and the access to delivery that so many restaurants rely on, especially at such a critical time."

A spokeswoman for Instacart



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Outside Uber's headquarters in San Francisco last week, drivers and other gig workers urged California voters to reject Proposition 22, which could save companies like Uber and Lyft from a new labor law. Right, one of several "Yes on Prop 22" slides that Uber has shown drivers before they log on for work.

declined to comment. Postmates did not respond to a request for comment.

In an effort to gain support, the companies have bombarded riders and drivers with push notifications, campaign ads that appear in their apps and emails promoting Prop 22. Before logging on to start work, Uber drivers have been presented with a slide show of warnings about how their lives could change if the proposition fails.

"A no vote would mean far fewer jobs," one of the slides on the Uber app warned. "That's why we're fighting so hard to win."

In the lawsuit filed against Uber on Thursday, drivers claim that the messages violated a state law that forbids employers to coerce

their employees to participate in political activity.

"I can't rule out that employers have engaged in coercive tactics like this in the past, but I have never heard of an employer engaging in this sort of barrage of coercive communications on such a broad level, ever," said one of the attorneys for the drivers, David Lowe, a partner at Rudy, Exelrod, Zieff & Lowe. "It is such an extraordinary thing, from my perspective, for Uber to exploit this captive audience of workers." Mr. Lowe said he opposed Prop 22.

Matt Kallman, an Uber spokesman, said, "This is an absurd lawsuit, without merit, filed solely for press attention and without regard for the facts." He added, "It can't distract from the truth: that

the vast majority of drivers support Prop 22."

In early October, the Prop 22 campaign was denounced by Senator Bernie Sanders after a fake progressive group calling itself Feel the Bern endorsed the proposition in a campaign flier that implied Uber had the backing of progressive leaders. The mailers were, in fact, sent by a firm that creates political mailers representing different views.

"The Prop 22 campaign is working hard to reach voters across the state and the political spectrum to ensure they know that drivers overwhelmingly support Prop 22," said Geoff Vetter, a spokesman for the Yes on 22 campaign, which is funded by Uber, Lyft, DoorDash and other gig economy companies.

Questions have also been raised about the N.A.A.C.P. endorsement. A political consulting firm run by Alice Huffman, the leader of the California N.A.A.C.P., has received \$85,000 from the gig companies' campaign, public records show. The payment was reported earlier by the news site CalMatters.

Mr. Vetter said the payments were for "outreach." The N.A.A.C.P. did not respond to a request for comment.

Uber held an all-hands meeting this month for employees to meet drivers who support the proposition, and sent several emails encouraging staff to lobby friends and family.

Although the internal messages were upbeat, the policy staff

raised concerns with campaign consultants during the meetings in late August and early September, the people familiar with those meetings said. Among their worries: that the ballot language was unfavorable to the companies, and that people were voting earlier than usual because of the pandemic, meaning advertising would need to be rapid and aggressive.

"We look at the data every day, and our metrics show a tight race," Justin Kintz, Uber's head of public policy, said in an early October email to Uber employees, obtained by The New York Times. "At the same time, with continued strong execution against our plan, we're confident we can win."

While the email noted that campaigning was optional, Mr. Kintz encouraged employees to participate in texting banks to contact voters and to promote the campaign in conversations with friends.

"The big reason that you're seeing so much spending is because of the high stakes in this election," said Mr. Vetter, the spokesman for the campaign. "Hundreds of thousands of jobs are on the line. These are services that millions of Californians rely on."

The opposition campaign, which is funded by labor unions, has raised about \$15 million. Supporters of the No on 22 campaign have argued that voters should reject the push by tech companies, and that the measure would harm workers already at a disadvantage during the pandemic.



"Proposition 22 will make racial inequality worse in California at the worst possible time," said Representative Barbara Lee, a California Democrat. "You have very clearly crossed the line when you try to claim the equity mantle for a campaign that has always been about allowing multibillion-dollar app companies to write their own law so that they can keep exploiting the labor of drivers, eight in 10 of whom are people of color."

No matter the outcome of the vote, the gig companies and their opponents are likely to take their campaigns to Washington. Massachusetts has filed a lawsuit similar to the one that the California court decided on Thursday evening, and Uber hopes to avoid continued state-by-state battles by pressing for federal legislation.

Erin Griffith and Noam Scheiber contributed reporting.

Labor Dept. Agencies Told to Forgo News Releases of Potential Violations

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
ployment laws to generally refrain from issuing releases until after a matter has reached its conclusion — for example, once a court has issued a judgment or an employer has reached a settlement with the department.

Citations are often issued at roughly the same point in the enforcement process that a prosecutor would bring an indictment in a criminal matter.

The memo may be having some effect already. Since its flurry of releases about citations in mid-September, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration has not issued discrete news releases about particular companies for coronavirus-related violations, instead providing a weekly summary of proposed penalties with a table listing up to three dozen companies that have recently been cited.

The summaries include little detail about what violations the companies may have committed and no comments from department officials.

News of the memo alarmed some experts in workplace regulation, who see publicizing violations as one of the most cost-effective tools the department has for ensuring compliance with regulations, such as those enforced by OSHA.

"OSHA is a tiny agency, and if it doesn't amplify the impact of its inspections, it will have very little effect on almost every workplace

in the United States," said David Michaels, an epidemiologist who headed the agency under President Barack Obama. "The basis of every inspection is to increase deterrence."

A Labor Department spokeswoman said, "The departmental memo is part of an effort to take a more thoughtful and deliberative approach that informs the public about bad actors while allowing accused labor unions and employers the opportunity to defend themselves."

She added that the recent, consolidated announcements of virus-related violations were a response to the rising number of such citations — "to make it easier for the public to see all of the establishments."

Dr. Michaels, who now teaches at the George Washington University School of Public Health, is credited for increasing the practice of issuing news releases when he was at the department.

In 2009, he helped make it OSHA policy to put out a news release in any case where the agency had proposed a fine of roughly \$40,000 or more. At the time, Dr. Michaels said the purpose was to discourage other employers from running afoul of OSHA rules.

Borrowing from an academic literature on the subject, he called the approach "regulation by shaming."

An article by the Duke University economist Matthew S. John-

son, published this year in The American Economic Review, concluded that the policy had largely achieved its goals. Mr. Johnson found that an OSHA news release led to a more than 70 percent reduction in violations at facilities in the same sector within roughly three miles of the company cited, and a 30 percent reduction in violations at facilities within 30 miles.

According to Mr. Johnson's analysis, the releases created negative publicity in the local news media, mobilizing workers at other companies to increase pressure on employers.

To have the same effect as a single news release through inspections alone, Mr. Johnson estimated, OSHA would need to perform

more than 200 additional safety inspections.

After President Trump's inauguration in 2017, it was unclear if his administration would continue the practice. But after Alexander Acosta, Mr. Trump's first labor secretary, was sworn in that April, the department largely resumed its publicity strategy, albeit with less frequency.

Under the Obama administration, the news releases "tended to be scathing, inflammatory, embarrassing for the company," said Eric J. Conn, a lawyer who represents employers in OSHA enforcement actions and follows the department's releases closely. "There was a lot of, 'This company made employees choose between

their lives and a paycheck,' that sort of tone."

"What was really surprising to us was when the Trump administration started issuing press releases again, they maintained those D.O.L. and OSHA official quotations," Mr. Conn added. "They were maybe marginally less inflammatory, but they still followed that same pattern."

That appeared to continue through the pandemic. In the second week of September, the department issued a series of news releases citing employers for virus-related violations. Among them was a release about a plant owned by the pork producer Smithfield Foods and a separate release about a plant owned by its fellow meatpacking giant JBS, both of which were cited for "failing to protect employees from exposure to the coronavirus."

"Employers need to take appropriate actions to protect their workers from the coronavirus," OSHA's Denver-area director said in the release about JBS.

Arthur G. Sapper, a lawyer at Ogletree Deakins who represents employers in such matters, said such releases undermined the rule of law.

"Employers spend decades and resources, often in the millions of dollars, to ensure their good name, and they treat their customers well, and they believe they treat employees well," Mr. Sapper said. "But with one press release issued by a prosecution-

minded agency without any review by an impartial observer, all that can be destroyed. And it stays destroyed even if the employer is later vindicated."

Mr. Sapper said that he was aware of several instances in which citations were thrown out but the employer could not undo the damage caused by OSHA's news releases. Mr. Conn argued that the department could just as easily wait until the cases were fully resolved before issuing a news release and still have a steady flow of enforcement actions to publicize.

But M. Patricia Smith, the Labor Department's top lawyer under Mr. Obama from 2010 to 2017, said publicizing the findings of enforcement actions was standard practice across government, including at the Justice Department, where prosecutors routinely publicize charges before any trial or settlement.

"Press releases are good compliance tools," Ms. Smith said. "You want the general public, the regulated public, to know what you're doing."

She said it was relatively simple for the department to update a news release on its website if the case status changed.

Dr. Michaels said waiting until the legal process runs its course could take years, as deep-pocketed companies contest and appeal. "It will have no effect if it will occur long after the inspection occurs," he said.



ANDREW HARRER/BLOOMBERG

Patrick Pizzella, a deputy labor secretary, told enforcement officials to generally refrain from issuing a release until a matter is resolved.

SportsSaturday

The New York Times

No Champagne Spraying Yet. Just Dance-Offs.



JAE C. HONG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Tampa Bay Rays after winning Game 7 of the American League Championship Series last Saturday. Players were not allowed to take beer onto the field, just special hats and T-shirts, and confetti.

Pandemic rules have had a sobering effect on victory celebrations. That may soon change.

By JAMES WAGNER

After the Yankees clinched a spot in the playoffs in September, they gathered in the lobby of their hotel in Buffalo, N.Y., in masks and then removed them for a brief toast of Champagne.

After the Tampa Bay Rays won the American League East crown a few days later, they congregated outside Citi Field and two outfielders, Brett Phillips and Randy Arozarena, held the first of their multiple dance-offs this fall. Weeks later, they held a second one near the visitor's dugout of Petco Park in San Diego after winning their A.L. division series.

After the Los Angeles Dodgers defeated the Atlanta Braves to advance to their third World Series in four years, third baseman Justin Turner said a group of his teammates met in one of the outdoor spaces they were allowed to use at their quarantine hotel and reminisced about the series and its stand-out moments.

But there, as at almost every other notable milestone during this pandemic post-season, something was missing.

"I'll tell you what, man," Rays catcher Mike Zunino said after Tampa Bay beat the Houston Astros to reach the World Series, "there's nothing better than popping bottles and wearing some goggles and it still seep-

ing through there and burning the eyes."

So much about the 2020 season has been changed by the coronavirus pandemic, including how teams can party. Breaking with longstanding baseball tradition, milestones that for years were accompanied by raucous and sudsy revelry, by clubhouses swathed in plastic sheeting and sprays of beer and Champagne and over-the-top celebrations, have been more muted this October than in the past.

Because of the strict health and safety guidelines for the season, which include strict rules on limiting time indoors and social distancing, Major League Baseball told its teams they "must avoid any unsound conduct." Team employees can face discipline if they do not comply, a league official said.

So out went the usual Champagne and beer showers and in came the silly string, confetti and dancing. Drinking is still allowed — without spraying — but players are now more likely to settle into a chair with a beer than pound five of them at once.

"The Champagne stuff is always fun and it's a cool baseball thing," Dodgers outfielder A.J. Pollock said. "Do I miss it? Yeah, a little bit. Is it going to make it less special? Absolutely not."

"We're all enjoying each other. We're all celebrating each other in just different

ways. That ring is the ultimate goal, and that's kind of all the motivation you need."

Added Rays second baseman Brandon Lowe: "The Champagne burn is definitely something that can't be replaced. I didn't think I'd miss it after last year" — when the Rays lost to Houston in the divisional round — "but it's definitely something that is missed. Right now, it's an adjustment to what 2020 is. We've found our ways to enjoy it."

The Rays certainly have. After fans loved social media videos of their first dance-off, Arozarena and Phillips did it again after they bested the Yankees. Arozarena, who watches dancing and music videos in his spare time, beat Phillips in their rematch by busting out some surprising break-dancing moves, including what he considered a clinching headspin.

"I had that one saved for a big moment," Arozarena said recently in Spanish. "I was losing so I thought, 'I have to use this move or I'll lose again.'"

But after the Rays topped the Astros in the A.L. Championship Series, their celebration was quieter, at least publicly. They didn't hold a dance-off or drink and smoke cigars in the dugout or taunt their beaten opponents with music from a portable speaker the way they did when they played the Yankee Stadium staple, Frank Sinatra's

"New York, New York," after defeating the Yankees.

Instead, they hugged, received their World Series hats and T-shirts on the field and posed for photos before moving their merriment out of sight. When a Rays player later emerged from the dugout with a beer and headed toward where some families were waiting near the third base line, an official stopped him and directed him to leave the drink behind. He did, walked out toward the families and shot off some confetti in front of them.

Alcohol is allowed in the postseason but, according to M.L.B., only in designated areas and in limited quantities. Most players said they were fine with the restrictions.

"Doesn't matter if it's Champagne or water," Arozarena said. "Reaching the World Series is the most important, and we did it."

For those who have longed for the customary and, um, more festive celebrations, though, a reprieve may be on the way. Zunino said he had been told that the team that won the World Series — which was tied at one game apiece between the Rays and Dodgers entering Friday — would be allowed to pop bottles and feel the eye burn again.

According to an M.L.B. official, a traditional Champagne celebration is indeed the plan.



RAJ MEHTA/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS



DINA LITOVSKY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Left, the Minnesota Twins enjoyed the fruits of victory after clinching a division title in 2019. Above, Washington Nationals pitcher Max Scherzer kissed the championship trophy after the team beat the Houston Astros in the 2019 World Series.

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

PRO FOOTBALL

The Big Ten Takes a Rocky Road Back to a Shortened Season

By GILLIAN R. BRASSIL

The day before its first kickoff of 2020, the Big Ten Conference was still unveiling rules for a football season that had been postponed, revived, truncated and compromised in efforts to contain the coronavirus pandemic.

On Thursday, the conference announced a “no contest” rule for games canceled if team personnel tested positive for the virus — which seemed inevitable because the schedule has no bye weeks and, thus, no wiggle room for last-minute changes. The intention is to play nine games in nine weeks to catch up to the three Power Five conferences that have already started.

But just over a month ago, no one thought the Big Ten — made up of 14 schools across the Mid-

Mayors of areas near league schools voiced their concerns.

west and Northeast — would be set to begin football on Friday night, with the University of Illinois at the University of Wisconsin, even as the home team’s state ranked fourth in the country in per capita cases over the past seven days, and first among the states with Big Ten programs.

“Having football while I can’t go to class — in a way, it’s nice that we’re having this one thing that’s unifying,” said Anne Isman, a sophomore at Wisconsin who is living in an apartment in Madison. “At the same time, the timing feels a little off.”

Fans and parties will be barred from all of the league’s stadiums, but the precautions have not fully reassured the mayors of certain Big Ten towns.

They know that what happens at the stadiums will be only one part of football’s return. Fear of groups breaking recommended social-distancing protocols led 12 mayors of areas surrounding 11 Big Ten schools to send a letter to the conference this week, citing concerns about what bringing football back means for college towns as fans congregate to watch games — the virus an omnipresent risk freely floating between face paint, beer bottles and potlucks.

“We know the history of football games within our cities,” the mayors wrote. “They generate a lot of activity, social gatherings and consumption of alcohol.”

The mayors, covering cities around all Big Ten schools except for Nebraska, Illinois and Rutgers, asked the conference to factor in case counts of surrounding communities when deciding whether to hold games. Big Ten officials have not responded to the



MORRY GASH/ASSOCIATED PRESS



MICHAEL CONROY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

mayors or to requests for comment.

“Madison is a huge football town — you feel the environment change, even now, with game day approaching,” said Luke Carmosino, a junior at Wisconsin who recovered from Covid-19 in September while in Madison.

Pre-pandemic, the whole city essentially shut down for games, Isman said, as bars, restaurants and fraternities overflowed with fans from far and wide. Both students expect slips in public health safety compliance during game days.

So long as positive coronavirus tests remain low among players, team staff members and officials, the Big Ten intends to push forward, although accomplishing its

Camp Randall Stadium at the University of Wisconsin hosted the University of Illinois for the Big Ten opener on Friday. Parents sent letters to the conference’s commissioner, Kevin Warren, left, saying letting their sons play “presents the best environment.”

the season to the spring of 2021, only to reverse its decision in September amid sparring motivations of athletic goals, political arm-twisting and coronavirus containment.

Ohio State quarterback Justin Fields started the #WeWantTo-Play petition, which drew more than 300,000 signatures in support of a fall schedule. Parents from 11 of the Big Ten schools sent letters to the conference’s commissioner, Kevin Warren, saying that letting their sons play “presents the best environment” for them.

And President Trump claimed credit for helping persuade the Big Ten to reverse its delay, prompting former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. to blame the president for the postponement in the first place.

Conference officials and schools said that the president’s opinion did not factor into their decision; rather, a dip in coronavirus cases, more widespread availability of testing and improved information on myocarditis, an inflammation of the heart linked to the virus, spawned the restart, they said.

“It feels like the Big Ten and N.C.A.A. catered to what the nation is feeling rather than what the students at institutions are feeling,” Carmosino said.

Some Big Ten colleges and their cities had to increase restrictions on students after bringing them back to campus, issuing punishments for crowded parties or moving classes online entirely. Ann Arbor, home to the University of Michigan, issued an emergency stay-at-home order on Tuesday for the college, effective until Nov. 3. Athletics are exempt from these restrictions.

A month ago, Linda Vail, the health officer in Ingham County, which includes Michigan State University, would have recommended no football. But now that case counts in her county are trending downward, with a positive rate below 4 percent, she thinks that as long as fans continue following recommended guidelines, football’s return could have a calming effect.

“We’re all getting a bit fatigued with all the restrictions, but so long as you take precautions — even in the small gatherings — we can keep pushing case counts down,” she said. “We can have this semblance of normalcy.”

Pratfalls, First By Giants’ QB, Then by Giants

By VICTOR MATHER

This has been a forgettable season for the Giants. But a victory over Washington’s Football Team on Sunday at least gave the team its first win, and Thursday’s game against the Eagles in Philadelphia produced the kind of electrifying moment that brings hope for reinvigorating a season. Almost, anyway.

Trailing the Eagles, 10-7, in the third quarter, and starting a drive at his 12-yard line, Giants quarterback Daniel Jones faked a handoff and rolled right. The fake fooled the Eagles’ defense, and as Jones turned upfield there was nothing but green grass in front of him. So he sprinted into daylight.

20, 30, 40, 50, 40 . . . the yards rolled away with no defender in sight.

Jones was on his way to giving the Giants the lead and providing the kind of signature play replayed endlessly on highlight shows and viral clips and in the minds of Giants fans eager for a good memory from this year.

And Jones was flying. At his 43 he hit 21.23 miles an hour, according to NextGen stats, the fastest top speed by a quarterback over the last three seasons. By the time Jones got to the 35 it was clear that he was going to score.

And then, just like last, it was clear he wasn’t.

It was just one bad step, one foot touching down an inch or two away from where it ideally should have landed. But Jones’s next step was a little worse, and after a few more his balance was gone.

Jones leaned forward, tried and failed to catch himself and then, just 15 yards from the end zone, tumbled to the ground.

Jones rolled forward to the 8 and tried to get up, but a late-arriving Eagle ended the play by touching him.

In the end, Jones had gained 80 yards, the longest run by a quarterback since 2015. But he had needed 88 to score, and the way the play ended — a player running free and then falling, untouched and unchallenged — ensured that it would have a long life, not in video compilations of glory, but of ignominy.

“I tried to run faster than I was running, and I got caught up,” Jones told reporters after the game.

Glass-is-half-full Giants fans will point out that the team scored to take the lead four plays after Jones’s tumble. But few will remember that. (Congratulations, Wayne Gallman: Your 1-yard run is now a great trivia answer.)

The bigger problem for the Giants is that they blew an 11-point lead with five minutes left and lost the game, 22-21, to fall to 1-5. On Nov. 2, Tom Brady and the Buccaneers come to town. Lowlight fans and Twitter quipsters will be waiting.

MIXED MARTIAL ARTS

Highly Anticipated U.F.C. Main Event Brings Clashing Styles to Fight Island

By MORGAN CAMPBELL

Entering this year, the Ultimate Fighting Championship’s brain trust figured that 2020 would climax with a blockbuster rematch between the outlandish Irish star Conor McGregor and the undefeated lightweight champion, Khabib Nurmagomedov.

After McGregor’s 40-second dismantling of Donald Cerrone in January, Dana White, the U.F.C.’s president, spoke openly about matching McGregor against Nurmagomedov again, but in a venue befitting the fight’s appeal. White mentioned the O2 Arena in London and AT&T Stadium in Arlington, Texas, as possible destinations, provided Nurmagomedov defeated Tony Ferguson in a title fight that was scheduled for April in Brooklyn.

Then the coronavirus pandemic scrambled those plans (and the rest of the sports world).

The April event was postponed, and its featured fight restructured when pandemic restrictions kept Nurmagomedov from traveling to the United States from Russia. Ferguson then lost over five punishing rounds in May to Justin Gaethje, a hard-hitting lightweight from Colorado.

Now the biggest U.F.C. bout of the year will pit Nurmagomedov against Gaethje on Saturday, on Yas Island in Abu Dhabi, in front of officials and a broadcast crew, but without spectators or revenue from ticket sales.

Yet White won’t categorize Saturday’s main event as a consolation prize for a Nurmagomedov-McGregor rematch that has not yet materialized. Instead, he calls the fight a potential record breaker and the high point in a

trying year.

“You have all the ingredients for a massive fight,” White said this week. “This thing is tracking to be the biggest fight we’ve ever done.”

What makes White so confident that a matchup that wasn’t on the radar at the start of this year will be so appealing to fans?

The Fighters’ Techniques

Nurmagomedov, 32, is a suffocating pressure fighter who supplements his relentless wrestling with well-placed punches and kicks. His 28-0 record is rare in a sport in which the elites are often pushed to fight top competition.

“I know he knows how to wrestle,” Nurmagomedov said of Gaethje. “But what about wrestling for 25 minutes?”

Gaethje, 31, was an All-American wrestler his junior year at the University of Northern Colorado. But as a mixed martial artist, he prefers crowd-pleasing, high-impact strikes. Against Nurmagomedov, Gaethje intends to wrestle just enough to keep the fight on his terms, and he has said he didn’t even study video of Nurmagomedov during training camp.

“I’m always focused on being my best self,” Gaethje said. “I will not allow him to put me on the fence. If I do, then I’m screwed.”

The Path to Yas Island

When the New York State Athletic Commission refused to approve Nurmagomedov-Ferguson in April, as coronavirus cases overwhelmed New York City, the U.F.C. began an intensive search for a new site, with a local commis-

sion comfortable allowing fights during a pandemic. White mentioned the possibility of a private island for fighters based outside the United States, and the U.F.C. also hatched a plan to move the Nurmagomedov-Ferguson fight to an arena on Native American tribal land in California.

The card eventually landed in Jacksonville, Fla., with Gaethje replacing Ferguson. And by June the U.F.C. and Abu Dhabi’s Department of Culture and Tourism announced they would collaborate on a restricted environment on Yas Island, where the U.F.C. would host four events over a two-week span in mid-July.

After hosting 15 events at the Apex, a U.F.C.-owned training center and venue in Las Vegas, in August and September, the company returned to Abu Dhabi for five more cards, including Saturday’s fights at U.F.C. 254.

The situation is serviceable — allowing the U.F.C. to stick to its schedule and deliver fights for its television partner, ESPN. And White proudly points out that the company has not had to lay off employees during the pandemic.

But it is not ideal for one of the biggest fights of the year, especially when the original plan involved filling an N.F.L. stadium.

“If the world comes back to normal, these fights can happen anywhere,” White said. “This was, without a doubt, the most challenging year of my career, but it has also been the most rewarding.”

Nurmagomedov’s Time

Nurmagomedov, the U.F.C.’s 155-pound champion, has competed only twice in the last 24



JOSH HEDGES/ZUFFA L.L.C., VIA GETTY IMAGES

Khabib Nurmagomedov, left, and Justin Gaethje will fight for the U.F.C.’s 155-pound championship.

months, partly because of the pandemic. His most recent win came through a third-round submission by Dustin Poirier in September 2019.

The previous October, he colared McGregor in the fourth round of their grudge match, squeezing McGregor’s neck and jaw until he submitted. After the final bell, Nurmagomedov dived into the audience to fight hecklers from McGregor’s entourage, igniting a brawl that got both fighters suspended in Nevada.

During Nurmagomedov’s absence, Gaethje’s profile has grown. He stepped in for Nurmagomedov and knocked out Ferguson, earning the U.F.C.’s interim lightweight title. That guaranteed

Gaethje a shot at Nurmagomedov for the undisputed belt.

An Unusual Start

From a business standpoint, White insists that Nurmagomedov comes with a built-in audience of paying customers, even if coronavirus restrictions will keep them from watching in person.

Nurmagomedov has 22 million followers on Instagram, and White said a recent Nurmagomedov video on the U.F.C.’s Facebook page had accumulated more than 100 million views. He also said that Nurmagomedov’s character was the most frequently selected by online players of the U.F.C.’s video game.

Though most U.F.C. pay-per-view events, regardless of where they occur, take place during prime time hours for U.S. viewers, Saturday’s main card begins at 2 p.m. Eastern time. That start time is better suited to Nurmagomedov fans in Russia and the Republic of Dagestan, where he grew up. The pay-per-view will also begin at 10 p.m. local time in Abu Dhabi, where Nurmagomedov defeated Poirier and where he trained for this fight.

“Apparently, people in the business don’t know this, but Khabib is one of the biggest stars in sport, not just the U.F.C.,” White said at the news conference this week. “I could just rattle off numbers all day.”

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL

M.L.B. PLAYOFFS

WORLD SERIES
(Best-of-7)
Los Angeles Dodgers 1, Tampa Bay 1
At Arlington, Texas
(All Games on Fox)
Tuesday, Oct. 20: Los Angeles Dodgers 8, Tampa Bay 3
Wednesday, Oct. 21: Tampa Bay 6, Los Angeles Dodgers 4
Friday, Oct. 23: Los Angeles Dodgers vs. Tampa Bay
Saturday, Oct. 24: Los Angeles Dodgers (Urisas 3-0) vs. Tampa Bay, 8:08 p.m.
Sunday, Oct. 25: Los Angeles Dodgers (Kershaw 6-2) vs. Tampa Bay, 8:08 p.m.
x-Tuesday, Oct. 27: Tampa Bay vs. Los Angeles Dodgers, 8:08 p.m.
x-Wednesday, Oct. 28: Tampa Bay vs. Los Angeles Dodgers, 8:09 p.m.

N.F.L. STANDINGS

AMERICAN CONFERENCE

East	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Baltimore	4	2	0	0.666	156	188
Miami	3	3	0	0.500	160	113
N. England	2	3	0	0.400	109	110
Jets	0	6	0	0.000	75	185
South	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Tennessee	5	0	0	1.000	164	126
Indianapolis	4	2	0	0.666	157	115
Houston	5	0	0	1.000	146	182
Jacksonville	1	5	0	0.166	125	181
North	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Pittsburgh	5	0	0	1.000	156	94
Baltimore	5	1	0	0.833	179	104
Cleveland	4	2	0	0.666	163	187
Cincinnati	4	4	1	0.500	129	157
West	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Kansas City	5	1	0	0.833	175	127
Las Vegas	3	2	0	0.600	151	152
Denver	2	3	0	0.400	100	110
L.A. Chargers	1	4	0	0.200	110	125

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

East	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Phila.	2	4	1	0.357	163	196
Dallas	2	4	0	0.333	173	218
Washington	1	5	0	0.166	108	162
Giants	0	6	0	0.000	122	174
South	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Tampa Bay	4	2	0	0.666	177	122
New Orleans	3	2	0	0.600	153	150
Carolina	3	3	0	0.500	138	141
Atlanta	1	5	0	0.166	162	184
North	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Seattle	5	0	0	1.000	169	135
Green Bay	4	1	0	0.800	162	139
Detroit	2	3	0	0.400	133	143
Minnesota	1	5	0	0.166	155	192
West	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Seattle	5	0	0	1.000	169	135
Arizona	4	2	0	0.666	148	142
L.A. Rams	4	2	0	0.666	152	114
San Fran.	3	3	0	0.500	148	130

Thursday, Oct. 22
Philadelphia 22, Giants 21
Sunday, Oct. 25
Buffalo at Jets, 1
Pittsburgh at Tennessee, 1
Green Bay at Houston, 1
Cleveland at Cincinnati, 1
Carolina at New Orleans, 1
Detroit at Atlanta, 1
Dallas at Washington, 1
Tampa Bay at Las Vegas, 4:05
Kansas City at Denver, 4:25
San Francisco at New England, 4:25
Jacksonville at L.A. Chargers, 4:25
Seattle at Arizona, 8:20
L.A. Galaxy, Baltimore, Indianapolis, Miami, Minnesota
Monday, Oct. 26
Chicago at L.A. Rams, 8:15

M.L.S. STANDINGS

EAST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Toronto FC	12	2	4	41	30	17
Philadelphia	11	3	5	38	34	17
Columbus	10	4	4	34	30	15
Orlando City	8	2	8	32	30	18
New England	7	5	5	26	30	18
N.Y.C.F.C.	8	8	3	27	24	19
Red Bulls	7	8	4	25	22	23
Nashville SC	6	6	6	24	18	17
Montreal	7	10	1	23	29	36
Chicago	5	8	5	20	24	28
Atlanta	5	10	4	19	18	22
Inter Miami CF	5	11	3	18	19	29
Cincinnati	4	11	4	16	11	30
D.C. United	3	10	6	15	17	33

WEST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Seattle	9	4	5	32	36	18
Portland	9	5	5	32	39	31
Kansas City	9	6	3	30	31	25
Los Angeles FC	7	7	4	25	40	34
Minnesota	6	5	6	24	28	23
FC Dallas	6	5	6	24	22	20
San Jose	6	7	6	24	28	43
Vancouver	7	12	0	21	22	40
Real Salt Lake	5	7	6	21	24	29
Houston	4	7	8	20	27	32
Colorado	5	4	4	19	22	30
L.A. Galaxy	9	9	3	18	22	34

NOTE: Three points for victory, one point for tie.

Friday, October 23
New England at Nashville
Saturday, October 24
Orlando City at Miami, 3:30 p.m.
D.C. United at Atlanta, 4 p.m.
Red Bulls at Chicago, 7:30 p.m.
Minnesota at Cincinnati, 7:30 p.m.
Montreal at N.Y.C.F.C., 7:30 p.m.
Toronto FC at Philadelphia, 7:30 p.m.
Columbus at Houston, 8 p.m.
Colorado at Kansas City, 8:30 p.m.
FC Dallas at Real Salt Lake, 9:30 p.m.
San Jose at Vancouver, 10 p.m.
Sunday, October 25
L.A. Galaxy at Los Angeles FC, 3:30 p.m.
Tuesday, October 27
Nashville at Montreal, 7 p.m.
Seattle at Vancouver, 10 p.m.

ENGLISH PREMIER LEAGUE

Team	GP	W	D	L	GF	GA	Pts
Everton	4	4	1	0	14	7	13
Aston Villa	5	4	0	1	12	5	12
Leeds	6	3	1	2	12	9	10
Liverpool	5	3	1	1	13	10	10
Leicester	5	3	0	2	12	8	9
Arsenal	5	3	0	2	8	6	9
Wolverhampton	5	3	0	2	8	6	9
Tottenham	5	2	2	1	15	8	8
Chelsea	5	2	2	1	13	9	8
West Ham	5	2	1	2	11	7	7
Man City	5	2	1	2	7	7	7
Southampton	5	1	2	8	9	7	5
Newcastle	5	2	1	2	7	9	7
Crystal Palace	5	2	1	2	6	8	7
Man United	4	2	0	2	9	12	6
Brighton	5	3	1	1	9	11	4
West Brom	5	0	2	3	15	12	2
Burnley	4	0	1	3	3	8	1
Sheffield United	5	0	1	4	2	7	1
Fulham	5	0	1	4	4	12	1

Friday, Oct. 23
Aston Villa 0, Leeds 3
Saturday, Oct. 24
West Ham vs. Man City
Fulham vs. Crystal Palace
Man United vs. Chelsea
Liverpool vs. Sheffield United
Sunday, Oct. 25
Southampton vs. Everton
Wolverhampton vs. Newcastle
Arsenal vs. Leicester

GOLF

ZOZO CHAMPIONSHIP

At Sherwood Country Club
Thousand Oaks, Calif.
Purse: \$5 million
Yardage: 7,027; Par: 72
Second Round
Justin Thomas 65-65=130 -14
Dylan Fritts 66-65=131 -13
Lirio Griffin 66-65=131 -13
Patrick Cantlay 67-65=132 -12
Scottie Scheffler 67-65=132 -12
Abraham Ancer 67-66=133 -11
Harris English 66-67=133 -11
Bubba Watson 67-66=133 -11
Tyrrell Hatton 65-68=133 -11
Patrick Reed 70-63=133 -11
Jon Rahm 69-64=133 -11
Kevin Kisner 66-67=133 -11
Richy Wernicki 72-61=133 -11
Ryan Palmer 69-65=134 -10
Matthew Fitzpatrick 69-65=134 -10
Satoshi Kodaira 69-65=134 -10
Wesley Simpson 69-65=134 -10
Brian Harman 66-68=134 -10
Jason Kokrak 69-65=134 -10
Sebastian Munoz 64-70=134 -10
Justin Rose 67-67=134 -10
Kevin Na 70-65=135 -9
Viktor Hovland 71-64=135 -9
Jim Herman 70-65=135 -9
Jon Rahm 69-67=135 -9
Alex Noren 67-68=135 -9
Collin Morikawa 71-65=136 -8
Sungjae Im 68-68=136 -8
Cameron Smith 67-69=136 -8
Jojoji Nemann 70-66=136 -8
Tyler Duncan 68-68=136 -8
Corey Connors 69-67=136 -8
Jordan Spieth 70-66=136 -8
Andrew Landry 69-67=136 -8

TRANSACTIONS

N.F.L.

CAROLINA PANTHERS — Activated K Joey Siye and OL Trent Scott from reserve/COVID-19 list. Placed CB Rasul Douglas on reserve/COVID-19 list. Signed S Sean Chandler from New York Giants practice squad.

DOPING

Doping Tests Are Returning, but It Might Be Too Late

By MATTHEW FUTTERMAN

The numbers alone tell a disturbing story.

During the first nine months of 2019, antidoping organizations collected more than 231,000 blood and urine samples from athletes for testing for performance-enhancing drugs. During the same period in 2020, with the coronavirus making collection a high-risk event, antidoping organizations collected about 111,000 samples. In April alone, when cities and countries around the world were locked down, only 576 samples were collected, compared with 25,219 for the same month the previous year.

As the coronavirus pandemic has swept around the world, killing more than 1.1 million people as of Friday, it has caused lengthy lockdowns and untold economic hardship.

But those same restrictions have also significantly reduced the ability of antidoping officials to collect biological samples, and that, experts said, has created a ripe opportunity for cheating as close monitoring of thousands of athletes before the Tokyo Games this summer is expected to begin.

“That is a constant worry, even when there are no Covid-related issues,” said Dick Pound, the founding president of the World Anti-Doping Agency. “It’s more concerning now.”

With winter sports that are considered high risk for doping about to begin their World Cup seasons and the rescheduled Tokyo Olympics only eight months away, antidoping officials say the need to get testing back to previous levels is critical. This is particularly essential at competitions, they say, since those offer the best chance — given current travel restrictions — to catch athletes using illegal stimulants that have an immediate effect on performance.

“It would be naive for us to think people have not taken advantage this time,” said Travis Tygart, the chief executive of the United States Anti-Doping Agency.



TONY KARUMBA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A British lab. Concern is rising that pandemic restrictions may dampen efforts to police athletes.

Tygart knows that a certain number of the nearly 3,000 athletes based in the United States that his agency tracks have been taking illegal performance-enhancing drugs. He said they told him so.

While so many athletes were stuck at home with little to do during the pandemic, USADA worked with researchers at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro on a survey about doping. More than 1,400 athletes in the USADA testing pool participated in the anonymous survey.

Just under 10 percent said they had taken a banned performance-enhancing drug during the past 12 months, including 2.5 percent who admitted taking the most potent drugs, such as testosterone, human growth hormone and drugs that increase red-blood cell production and oxygen capacity. Another 4 percent said they had used marijuana, with the rest admitting to using less potent drugs illicitly,

such as medication for asthma that can improve lung capacity or drugs that modulate hormone levels.

Tygart said he saw all of this as something of victory, since studies of doping prevalence from the past decade have recorded anonymous admissions of guilt from as

The virus hindered the collection of samples, making 2020 an ideal time to cheat.

many as 40 percent of respondents.

While the athletes in the USADA study admitted to far lower levels of doping, they expressed deep skepticism that their rivals were abiding by the rules. More

than 50 percent said they believed international athletes had used the lull in testing caused by the pandemic as a doping opportunity, and 30 percent said they suspected American athletes had done so.

“Without testing, the confidence in the system goes way down,” Tygart said.

And the temptation remains. Just 42 percent of those surveyed said integrity in sports was more important than financial gain.

James Fitzgerald, a spokesman for the World Anti-Doping Agency, said testing numbers had been on the rise since May, though they still remained far behind last year’s figures, in part because so many competitions, where a lot of testing occurs, had been canceled. In September, 17,643 tests were conducted, compared with 26,638 during that month in 2019.

Fitzgerald said national and regional antidoping organizations were doing their best while adher-

ing to limits the local health authorities have placed on their activities. But he added that WADA does have other tools.

“While testing is important as a means to catch cheats and as a deterrent, it is not the only strategy available,” Fitzgerald said. “There are other angles of attack being pursued, which include intelligence and investigations, technology and research, sample storage and re-analysis, and the Athlete Biological Passport,” which can track dramatic changes in blood and hormone levels over time.

The damage to sporting integrity, though, may already be done. Studies have shown that even one cycle of performance-enhancing drugs that quickly leave the body can produce benefits that last as long as four years. That would certainly make a cycle that took place last spring beneficial at the Olympics next summer, or the Winter Games in Beijing in February 2022.

“That is why we have a four-year ban for many of the people we catch,” Pound said. “So the benefit will no longer be there.”

Athletes, sports officials and fans who have learned to observe standout performances with a degree of skepticism took note when runners broke three longstanding long-distance records recently. Records in the men’s and women’s 5,000 meters and the men’s 10,000 meters, all of which had stood for more than a decade, fell in early October. Peres Jephchirchir of Kenya has broken the record in the women’s half-marathon twice since the beginning of September, including last weekend in Poland.

As unfair as it is to question the validity of performances without evidence, the dearth in testing will lead to raised eyebrows as long as it continues, harming those who compete and win cleanly more than anyone else.

“Half my job is to be the skeptic, but it is inherently unfair to question an athlete’s performance because testing could not happen through no fault of their own,” Tygart said. “They deserve the presumption of innocence.”

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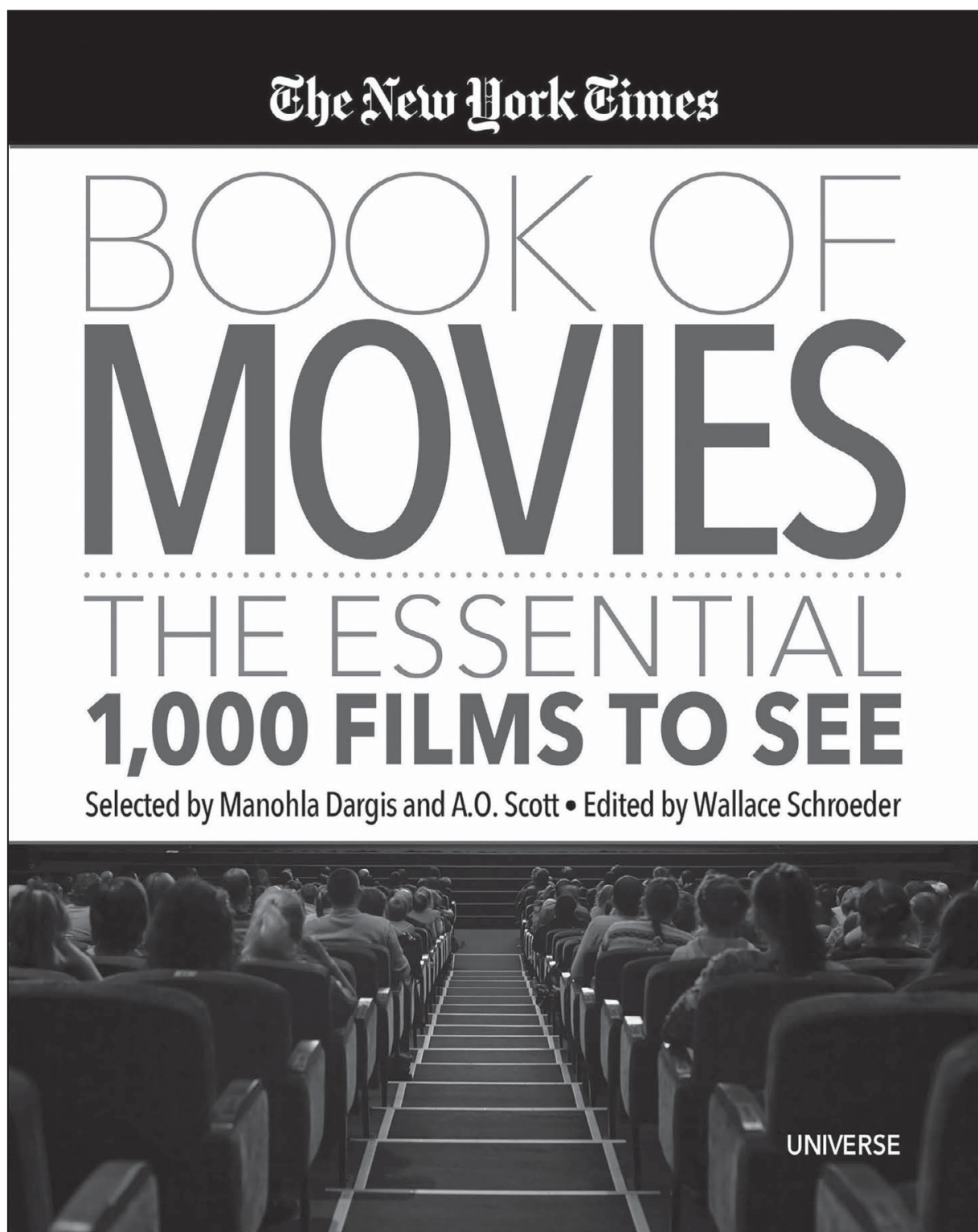
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Tom Maschler, Buccaneering Publisher and Booker Prize Founder, Dies at 87

By SAM ROBERTS

Tom Maschler, the swashbuckling British publisher who fostered the literary careers of more than a dozen Nobel laureates and conceived the coveted Booker Prize to promote fiction, died on Oct. 15 in a hospital near his home in Luberon, in southeastern France. He was 87.

His death was confirmed by the Central Hospital of Apt, about 40 miles east of Avignon.

A Jewish refugee from Nazi-occupied Vienna, where his father was a publisher, Mr. Maschler was 26 in 1960 when he was named literary director of Jonathan Cape, the prominent London publishing firm, a month after the death of its founder.

He catapulted to early fame by buying the British rights to Joseph Heller's debut novel, "Catch-22," for a bargain 250

Living by his wits and discovering writers who went on to win the Nobel Prize.

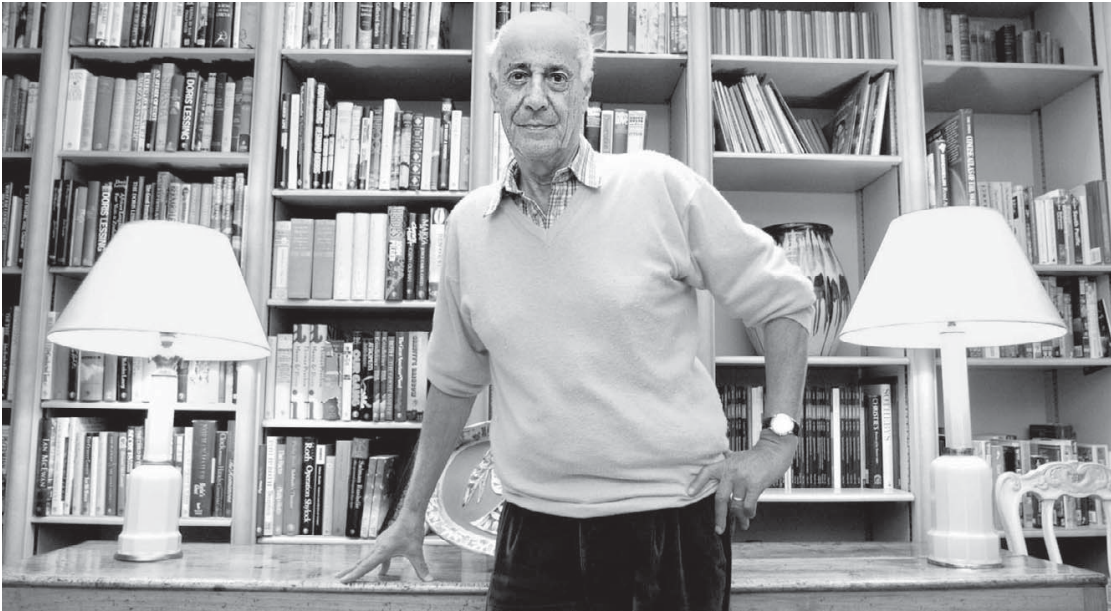
pounds in 1961 (the equivalent of about \$700 then and about \$6,500 today) and by transplanting himself to Idaho shortly after the suicide of Ernest Hemingway's widow, Mary, prepare the novelist's memoir "A Moveable Feast" for publication.

Among the authors he discovered, incubated or published who would win the Nobel Prize in Literature were Gabriel García Márquez ("the greatest writer I have published ever," he once said), Nadine Gordimer, Doris Lessing, Mario Vargas Llosa and V.S. Naipaul.

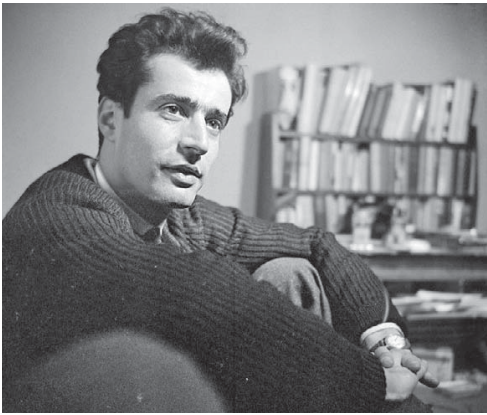
He also published or nurtured Martin Amis, Jeffrey Archer, Julian Barnes, Bruce Chatwin, Roald Dahl, John Fowles, Clive James, Ian McEwan, Edna O'Brien, Thomas Pynchon, Philip Roth and Kurt Vonnegut.

Neither he nor his critics considered him a scholar. He was rejected by the University of Oxford when he applied as an English major. He admitted to being a labored writer. His memoir, "Publisher" (2005), was widely mocked by reviewers, including one who concluded that it established Mr. Maschler's mantra as "When in doubt, claim credit."

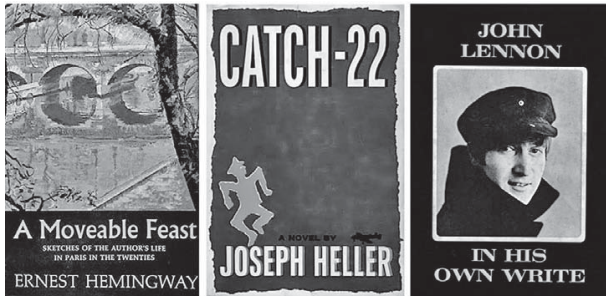
Antonella Francini contributed reporting.



STUART CLARKE/SHUTTERSTOCK



OSWALD JONES ARCHIVE/BRIDGEMAN IMAGES



Tom Maschler, top in 2005, had a discerning eye for fiction and published books by Ernest Hemingway, Joseph Heller and John Lennon. Mr. Maschler, left in an undated photo, said his role in establishing the Booker Prize in 1969 "may be the most important thing I've ever done."

But no one disputed that the buccaneering, splashy Mr. Maschler, who had lived largely by his own wits since he was 12, jolted the clubby British publishing world with his discerning eye for fiction and his Barnumesque promotional ingenuity.

He acquired a collection of writings and doodles by John Lennon (published in two volumes, "In His Own Write" in 1964 and "A Spaniard in the Works" in 1965). In 1983 he published one of the first pop-up books ("The Human Body," by Jonathan Miller).

After a painting by Kit Williams in a Mayfair gallery caught Mr. Maschler's eye, he published Mr. Williams's picture book "Masquerade" (1979), which contained

hidden clues to the search for a jeweled rabbit and inspired a treasure-hunt mania.

He decided to publish an early manuscript attributed to an author named Virginia Stephen, before he was informed that it was the maiden name of Virginia Woolf.

And after overhearing Desmond Morris, a zoologist, drop the phrase at a cocktail party, he commissioned Dr. Morris to write "The Naked Ape" (1967), a biological perspective on human behavior that became a best seller. He later recalled counseling Dr. Morris, "If you turn this into a book, it'll be so successful you'll never again be taken seriously by scientists, but you'll be

very rich."

But his crowning achievement arguably took place in 1969, when he persuaded the sugar trading firm Booker-McConnell to establish a literary prize to rival the French Prix Goncourt. The annual award was later called the Man Booker Prize and is now known as the Booker Prize.

"The Booker may be the most important thing I've ever done," Mr. Maschler told The Guardian. "It certainly had an impact, and if it means people think they should occasionally read a good novel, that is something I'm very proud of."

Thomas Michael Maschler was born on Aug. 16, 1933, in Berlin to Kurt Maschler, a successful pub-

lisher's representative who later became a publisher himself, and Rita (Lechner) Maschler.

The family fled to Vienna in 1938 after the Kristallnacht pogrom against the Jews, but the Nazis soon followed. When Nazis arrived at the Maschlers' home to arrest Kurt, a Jewish Socialist, he was away on business. They confiscated his valuables but allowed Tom one keepsake from his father's study. He chose a blue crayon.

Treated for manic depression as an adult, Mr. Maschler told The Guardian in 2005 that he found therapy unhelpful. "They invariably latched on to this business of Nazis coming to the house when I

was 5," he said. "It really didn't affect me, but therapists do love that sort of thing." (After the war, though, he learned that three of his grandparents had been murdered in the Holocaust.)

His parents had separated by then, and after failing to gain passage to Sweden, where they had hoped to proceed to America, Tom and his mother moved to Britain. His mother took a housekeeping job on a country estate while he attended a Quaker school.

When he was 12, he was sent to Brittany to learn French. Shortly after that he won a summer scholarship to a kibbutz in Israel, which he was able to reach only after he audaciously wrote David Ben Gurion, the Israeli prime minister, and asked him to intercede on his behalf.

He was admitted to Oxford to study philosophy, politics and economics (but not English). He rejected the offer after he learned that he had been accepted because of his prowess at tennis.

Instead he traveled to the United States, where he worked in a tuna cannery, was detained for hitchhiking, and wrote travel articles for The Los Angeles Times and The New York Times (for which in 1952, at the age of 19, he chronicled a sojourn that had begun when he arrived in New York that year with \$13).

He returned to Europe and, after succeeding as a tour guide in Britain and failing as a film director in Italy, entered publishing in 1955 as a production assistant at André Deutsch. He moved to MacGibbon & Kee, to Penguin and finally to Cape, where he was chairman from 1970 until the company was bought by Random House in 1991.

Mr. Maschler's survivors include his wife, Regina (Kulnicz) Maschler, whom he married in 1988; three children, Ben, Hannah and Alice, from his first marriage, to Fay Coventry; and several grandchildren.

Mr. Maschler, who hopscooted between homes in London, Wales, France and Mexico, was "more admired than liked," as The Guardian put it. The publisher Patrick Janson-Smith called him "a tainted genius with the gift of being a stranger to self-doubt."

Asked by The Japan Times in 2008 whether he believed in himself, Mr. Maschler replied: "Yes, I believe in myself. I am not necessarily better than other people, but I know I am different from other people. Correct?"

"Yes, yes," his press agent replied obligingly.

"Actually," Mr. Maschler added with a laugh, "I think I am better as well."

James Redford, 58, Filmmaker and Voice For the Environment

By NEIL GENZLINGER

James Redford, a documentarian who drew on his own experience as a transplant recipient to create an institute devoted to educating people about such operations, and who with his father, the actor Robert Redford, founded the Redford Center, which examines environmental issues, died on Oct. 16 at his home in Fairfax, Calif. He was 58.

His wife, Kyle Redford, said the cause was cancer of the bile ducts.

Mr. Redford had primary sclerosing cholangitis, a disease that affects the bile ducts and damages

Son of a movie star drew on his own life in raising awareness on health and climate.

the liver. He had a liver transplant in March 1993 and later that year, after the first liver failed, underwent a second transplant.

The experience led him to found the James Redford Institute for Transplant Awareness, which sought to increase knowledge about organ donation and other aspects of transplantation, primarily through filmmaking.

"I'm still amazed at how many wrong ideas people have," Mr. Redford, widely known as Jamie, told The Omaha World Herald in 1996, explaining his motivation. "I'm amazed at how many think you can't have a normal funeral after you donate organs, or that if you are a good Christian or follow the Jewish faith you can't donate

organs."

Among the films he initiated was "The Kindness of Strangers," a 1999 documentary directed by his friend Maro Chermayeff; it had its premiere at the Telluride Film Festival in 1998 and aired on HBO in 1999. The film followed six families affected by transplants — two with donors, four with recipients — as it sought to show the human side of a subject that Mr. Redford, its executive producer, had thought was often overlooked.

"When I came out of my experience and started to encounter, on a day-to-day basis, through television, film, radio and print, how organ donation was portrayed," he told The Los Angeles Times in 1999, "I felt there was a lot of coverage of the controversies — which are there. And there was coverage of the medical-marvel element of it. But systematically, there seemed to be a failure on the human front."

Renee Graham, reviewing the film in The Boston Globe when it played at the Boston Film Festival, wrote, "From the plight of the families to the hospital workers who ensure that the organs of a dead donor remain viable (the access the camera was allowed is remarkable), Chermayeff has made a poignant, intimate and unforgettable film about life and death."

In 2005, Mr. Redford and his father established the nonprofit Redford Center, which also used film as a vehicle as it sought to promote environmental issues. He produced or directed a number of films for the center, including "Watershed" (2012), about the Colorado River, a subject especially dear to him, and "Happening: A Clean Energy Revolution" (2017).

The center, of which he was



STEPHEN LOVEKIN/GETTY IMAGES

board chairman, supports other filmmakers exploring environmental themes, including very young ones. An initiative Mr. Redford announced last year, Redford Center Stories, is aimed at getting students ages 10 to 14 to make films on environmental subjects.

Mr. Redford thought that the best way to impart information, whether on health or on clean air and climate change, was to humanize it.

"I come from a long line of storytellers," he once said, "who see stories as a way to make sense of things."

David James Redford was born on May 5, 1962, in New York to Mr. Redford and Lola Van Wagenen, a historian. He grew up in New York and spent summers in Utah, where his father had built a cabin in the Provo Canyon area, and where Jamie Redford acquired his environmental sensibility. His friend David Sheff said that some of the land had been overgrazed, and young Jamie took note of how that damage was reversed once

the practice was stopped.

"It defined his future environmentalism when he saw, as he said, 'that nature repairs itself if humans just get out of the way,'" Mr. Sheff said by email.

Mr. Redford earned a bachelor's degree in creative writing and filmmaking at the University of Colorado in Boulder in 1985 and received a master's degree in English literature at Northwestern University in Evanston, Ill.

In addition to his work with the transplant organization and the Redford Center, he was a screenwriter, with credits that included "Cowboy Up," a 2001 drama starring Kiefer Sutherland and Daryl Hannah. In 2012 he made a documentary called "The Big Picture: Rethinking Dyslexia." Broadcast on HBO, it looked at the struggles that his son, Dylan, had with that condition and sought to correct mistaken impressions about dyslexic people.

In addition to his wife, whom he married in 1988, Mr. Redford is

survived by his father and stepmother, Sibylle Szaggars; his mother and stepfather, George Burrill; his son; a daughter, Lena Redford; and two sisters, Shauna Redford Schlosser and Amy Redford.

Deaths

Katzen, Ariene
Zicht, Robert

KATZEN—Ariene Reiger, passed away peacefully and surrounded by love on October 19th at the age of 86 after a long illness. Ariene was born on July 1st to Fae and Solomon Reiger in The Bronx, NY where she was raised. A graduate of Queen's College, she became an educator in the NY City School System and in Stuttgart, Germany. Her greatest passion and joy was her family. She was a generous and loving daughter, wife, mother, sister, mother-in-law, aunt, grandmother and friend. She was predeceased by her beloved husband, Howard (Buzz) Katzen, a senior executive at The Xerox Corporation and made multiple homes for her family wherever his job took them; predominantly Westport, CT, abroad to London, England and in retirement to Scottsdale, Arizona for the last 25 years. Ariene was an adventurer at heart. She exhibited wanderlust from a young age, setting out to dis-

tant lands on a student ship. With her husband Buzz, she traveled the globe for most of their 54 years together. She was a generous spirit, supporting multiple causes for children, Jewish concerns and the arts. She possessed a sharp mind, a flair for entertaining, was a voracious reader, master of the NYT Crosswords, and a lover of the Silver Screen. She is survived by her daughters Sue Katzen, Jane Katzen De Nunzio (Robert), her nieces and nephews Robbie Jayson Sumberg, Brooks Sumberg, Charles Jayson, Andrea Berken Jayson and their children. A celebration of Ariene's life will be scheduled at a future date. Donations may be made in her memory to St. Jude's Children's Hospital.

ZICHT—Robert N. DDS. 1941-2020.

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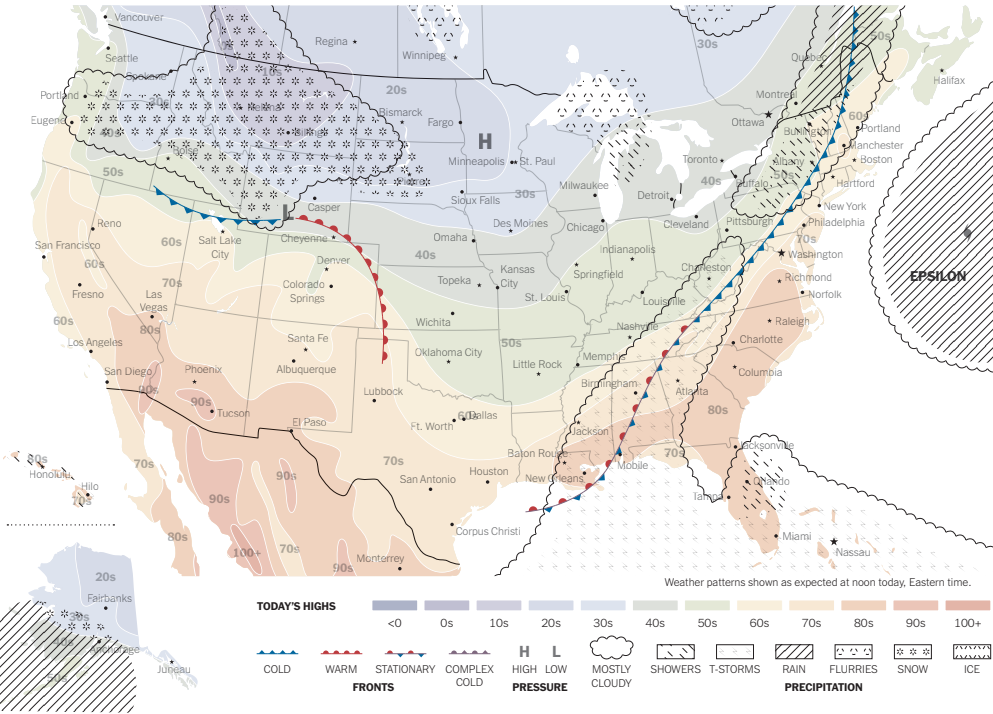
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Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Highlight: Winter Storm Sunday

A large storm is expected to form over southwestern Colorado on Sunday. Significant snowfall is expected from the mountains of Colorado to Nebraska as winds from the north usher in the coldest air mass of the season. Significant travel delays are forecast along sections of Interstate 80 and Interstate 25 across the region due to snow-covered roads, poor visibility and strong cross winds.



National Forecast

A storm system moving south from Canada into the northern Rockies today will bring wintery conditions to the area. Record-challenging low temperatures and substantial snow accumulations are expected across the northern Rockies as well as the northern Plains. A slowly advancing cold front will be draped across the eastern United States, allowing showers and a few storms to move in from the interior Northeast to the Southeast. Between the two areas of wet weather, much of the Midwest will remain dry and chilly as an area of high pressure is positioned overhead. Dry, warm and windy conditions will sweep across the Southwest and central Rockies, bringing a high fire threat and further worsening the ongoing drought conditions in the area.

Metropolitan Forecast

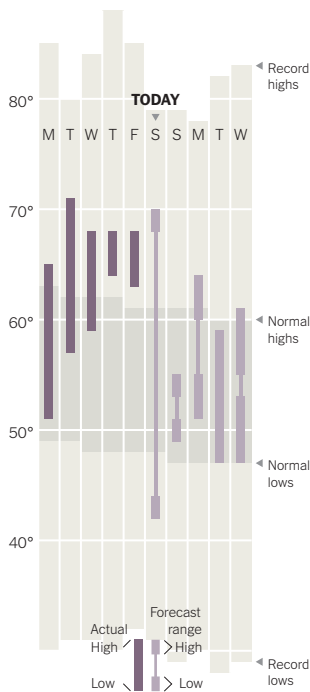
TODAYVariable clouds, mild High 69. A cold front will be approaching from the west. It will bring clouds, but little or nothing in the way of rainfall. The air ahead of the front will still be quite mild.

TONIGHTPartly cloudy, cooler Low 43. The cold front will shift to the east and south of the area. The temperature will drop quickly and also lower than recent nights, under a partly cloudy sky.

TOMORROWMuch cooler High 54. Cooler air will cover the area behind the cold front. There is a slight chance that low pressure developing to the south will result in some rain. Expect periodic clouds and sun.

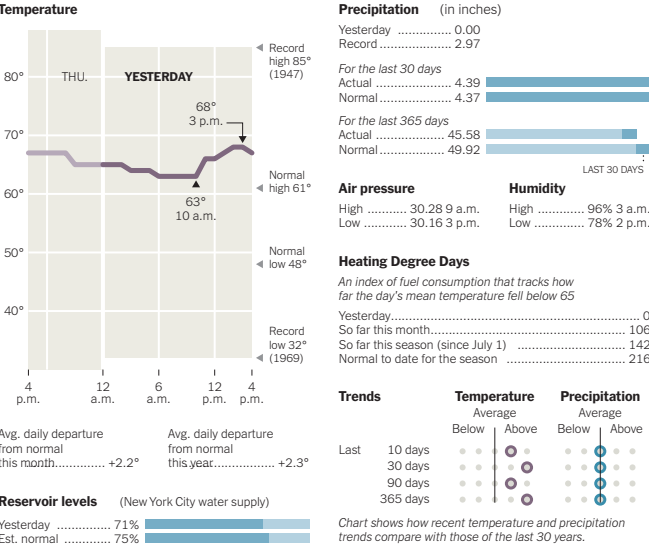
MONDAYMostly cloudy The flow of cooler air will ease, allowing temperatures to return to typical levels for late October. A cloudy day is expected with a chance of showers or some drizzle.

TUESDAYChance of showers Tuesday will be cloudy and cooler behind another cold front with a chance for showers. The high will be 56. Wednesday will bring clouds and periodic sun with a chance of showers. The high will be 58.



Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.



Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C	Clouds	S	Sun
F	Fog	Sn	Snow
H	Haze	SS	Snow showers
I	Ice	T	Thunderstorms
PC	Partly cloudy	Tr	Trace
R	Rain	W	Windy
Sh	Showers	-	Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	68/ 63 0	69/ 43 F	54/ 50 PC
Bridgeport	67/ 59 Tr	68/ 42 F	55/ 50 PC
Caldwell	70/ 59 Tr	69/ 40 F	54/ 47 PC
Danbury	66/ 55 0.03	66/ 35 F	53/ 42 PC
Islip	67/ 57 0.01	68/ 43 F	55/ 48 PC
Newark	70/ 61 Tr	70/ 43 F	55/ 50 PC
Trenton	71/ 60 0.01	69/ 41 C	53/ 47 C
White Plains	66/ 57 0.01	66/ 38 F	52/ 46 PC
United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	70/ 56 0.01	59/ 33 PC	48/ 36 PC
Albuquerque	73/ 45 0	78/ 53 C	74/ 38 C
Anchorage	37/ 33 0	42/ 34 Sh	39/ 35 R
Atlanta	80/ 65 0	76/ 65 Sh	80/ 64 PC
Atlantic City	69/ 60 0.02	73/ 50 F	57/ 53 C
Austin	81/ 52 0.01	72/ 58 PC	84/ 70 PC
Baltimore	74/ 58 0	74/ 46 PC	54/ 50 C
Baton Rouge	84/ 67 0.26	80/ 62 PC	85/ 67 PC
Birmingham	82/ 66 0	76/ 62 C	78/ 64 PC
Boise	55/ 45 0	54/ 24 W	42/ 21 S
Boston	63/ 54 0	68/ 41 F	51/ 44 PC
Buffalo	78/ 44 0	48/ 36 PC	49/ 41 C
Burlington	71/ 58 0.01	62/ 35 PC	45/ 34 PC
Casper	34/ 21 0	37/ 4 Sn	12/ 4 Sn
Charlotte	79/ 60 0	82/ 63 T	73/ 57 Sh
Chattanooga	80/ 65 0	75/ 60 C	77/ 64 PC
Chicago	64/ 34 1.17	47/ 38 PC	48/ 40 C
Cincinnati	77/ 45 0	53/ 42 C	55/ 49 C
Cleveland	76/ 44 0	47/ 39 PC	52/ 44 C
Colorado Springs	37/ 26 0	67/ 27 PC	28/ 9 Sn
Columbus	77/ 45 0	51/ 37 C	54/ 46 C
Concord, N.H.	64/ 51 0.01	68/ 33 F	53/ 31 PC
Dallas-Ft. Worth	64/ 45 0.72	62/ 54 C	80/ 53 C
Denver	39/ 27 0	60/ 18 C	21/ 7 C
Des Moines	42/ 25 0.35	39/ 31 PC	38/ 24 C
Detroit	74/ 39 0	49/ 35 PC	50/ 40 C
El Paso	82/ 53 0	84/ 60 S	87/ 57 PC
Fargo	30/ 11 0.02	28/ 16 Sn	29/ 10 SS
Hartford	68/ 56 0	68/ 38 F	54/ 40 PC
Honolulu	85/ 74 0	87/ 74 PC	87/ 75 C
Houston	87/ 59 0.06	74/ 62 PC	83/ 72 PC
Indianapolis	73/ 41 0.11	53/ 37 C	53/ 46 C
Jackson	84/ 65 0	70/ 58 C	78/ 63 S
Jacksonville	83/ 66 0.04	82/ 68 PC	83/ 70 PC
Kansas City	46/ 29 0.13	48/ 37 PC	44/ 29 Sh
Key West	85/ 79 0.44	85/ 78 T	85/ 79 S
Las Vegas	82/ 58 0	84/ 58 S	80/ 46 T
Lexington	77/ 48 0.12	52/ 44 C	58/ 53 C

Little Rock	80/ 49 1.10	55/ 46 C	63/ 60 C
Los Angeles	75/ 61 0	72/ 60 C	68/ 57 Sh
Louisville	80/ 49 0	58/ 47 C	61/ 55 C
Memphis	82/ 61 Tr	57/ 51 C	68/ 63 PC
Miami	86/ 77 0.12	85/ 76 T	86/ 75 T
Milwaukee	48/ 33 0.58	44/ 35 PC	44/ 34 C
Mpls.-St. Paul	36/ 18 0.03	31/ 24 C	32/ 18 Sn
Nashville	80/ 54 0	59/ 52 C	71/ 59 PC
New Orleans	83/ 71 0.20	82/ 70 PC	83/ 70 PC
Norfolk	73/ 61 0	79/ 61 F	63/ 60 R
Oklahoma City	50/ 34 0.37	57/ 45 C	63/ 32 PC
Omaha	41/ 23 0.04	41/ 30 C	36/ 20 Sn
Orlando	85/ 71 0.01	86/ 71 T	86/ 71 PC
Philadelphia	73/ 60 0	73/ 46 C	54/ 51 C
Phoenix	93/ 68 0	88/ 68 PC	86/ 63 C
Pittsburgh	76/ 59 Tr	80/ 53 T	56/ 50 C
Portland, Me.	60/ 51 0	63/ 35 F	50/ 36 PC
Portland, Ore.	53/ 47 0	54/ 36 S	50/ 30 S
Providence	69/ 53 0.01	69/ 40 F	55/ 42 PC
Raleigh	78/ 60 Tr	82/ 62 PC	62/ 54 Sh
Reno	66/ 38 0	71/ 36 S	48/ 22 S
Richmond	77/ 45 0	48/ 38 PC	47/ 38 C
Sacramento	81/ 49 0	74/ 50 S	72/ 46 S
Salt Lake City	55/ 40 0	64/ 36 C	43/ 20 PC
San Antonio	84/ 55 0	71/ 63 PC	85/ 72 PC
San Diego	72/ 64 0	73/ 66 T	71/ 63 PC
San Francisco	69/ 55 0	67/ 55 PC	68/ 53 PC
San Jose	75/ 53 0	71/ 54 PC	70/ 47 PC
San Juan	90/ 78 0.08	90/ 79 S	89/ 79 T
Seattle	50/ 42 0.08	50/ 35 S	48/ 35 S
Sioux Falls	36/ 15 0.01	32/ 21 Sn	28/ 11 Sn
Spokane	37/ 22 0	32/ 13 S	30/ 15 S
St. Louis	70/ 39 0.10	52/ 42 C	52/ 45 C
St. Thomas	90/ 80 0.12	88/ 80 S	88/ 80 T
Syracuse	78/ 50 0	51/ 34 PC	50/ 38 PC
Tampa	88/ 73 0	87/ 73 PC	88/ 73 PC
Toledo	77/ 40 0.20	51/ 35 PC	52/ 42 C
Tucson	92/ 63 0	90/ 62 PC	87/ 60 PC
Tulsa	47/ 37 0.30	55/ 47 PC	60/ 40 T
Virginia Beach	72/ 60 0	78/ 63 F	64/ 61 R
Washington	75/ 61 0.01	74/ 50 PC	55/ 52 C
Wichita	49/ 31 0.12	54/ 39 PC	48/ 27 R
Wilmington, Del.	71/ 58 0	71/ 44 PC	55/ 48 C
Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	77/ 62 0.12	76/ 52 S	78/ 53 S
Cairo	88/ 69 0	82/ 65 S	82/ 66 S
Cape Town	73/ 61 0	75/ 57 PC	69/ 58 C
Dakar	90/ 80 0	91/ 81 PC	91/ 81 PC
Johannesburg	88/ 59 0	90/ 60 PC	89/ 64 PC
Nairobi	82/ 59 0.05	81/ 60 PC	77/ 61 T
Tunis	90/ 63 0	75/ 59 C	76/ 57 S
Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	96/ 66 0	96/ 60 PC	94/ 60 PC
Bangkok	88/ 73 0	88/ 72 C	90/ 75 PC
Beijing	63/ 35 0	66/ 41 PC	66/ 41 PC
Damascus	88/ 50 0	88/ 52 PC	85/ 50 C
Hong Kong	80/ 71 0	77/ 72 PC	80/ 73 PC
Jakarta	91/ 77 0	91/ 77 T	91/ 76 T
Jerusalem	84/ 61 0	82/ 63 PC	78/ 60 PC
Karachi	95/ 70 0	92/ 64 PC	91/ 67 PC
Manila	88/ 79 0.12	88/ 78 T	87/ 78 T
Mumbai	90/ 79 0	91/ 80 Sh	90/ 80 T

New Delhi	92/ 64 0	91/ 65 PC	91/ 64 PC
Riyadh	89/ 64 0	91/ 61 PC	90/ 61 PC
Seoul	57/ 42 0	57/ 41 S	65/ 45 C
Shanghai	57/ 55 0	66/ 53 PC	70/ 57 PC
Singapore	88/ 78 0.17	87/ 77 T	88/ 78 T
Sydney	79/ 64 0	79/ 60 T	61/ 58 R
Taipei City	72/ 68 0.13	75/ 69 PC	79/ 71 PC
Tehran	75/ 54 0	71/ 52 PC	73/ 55 PC
Tokyo	66/ 63 0.21	65/ 55 PC	67/ 57 PC
Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	61/ 47 0	60/ 55 C	57/ 47 R
Athens	81/ 60 0	80/ 61 S	78/ 61 Sh
Berlin	61/ 51 0.46	59/ 49 PC	63/ 47 PC
Brussels	63/ 50 0.02	61/ 54 PC	56/ 46 R
Budapest	61/ 43 0	60/ 50 C	59/ 48 PC
Copenhagen	55/ 48 0.23	56/ 52 PC	57/ 50 PC
Dublin	52/ 44 0.13	53/ 43 R	52/ 45 Sh
Edinburgh	51/ 41 0.05	53/ 43 R	53/ 45 Sh
Frankfurt	61/ 53 0.39	60/ 49 PC	63/ 50 PC
Geneva	56/ 51 1.99	61/ 45 Sh	62/ 47 C
Helsinki	49/ 37 0.29	44/ 33 R	47/ 45 PC
Istanbul	69/ 60 0	71/ 60 PC	74/ 62 PC
Kiev	63/ 50 0	60/ 47 C	58/ 44 PC
Lisbon	66/ 54 0.02	66/ 40 C	65/ 53 R
London	59/ 50 0	62/ 49 R	57/ 45 Sh
Madrid	57/ 47 0.22	61/ 48 PC	60/ 44 PC
Moscow	57/ 45 0.10	52/ 42 R	49/ 38 R
Nice	66/ 61 0.27	68/ 55 S	68/ 57 PC
Oslo	41/ 37 0.02	46/ 42 S	54/ 42 R
Paris	66/ 54 0.16	64/ 54 PC	57/ 47 R
Prague	61/ 53 0.12	59/ 43 PC	60/ 44 PC
Rome	59/ 54 0	69/ 53 Sh	69/ 55 PC
St. Petersburg	53/ 45 0.20	44/ 37 C	44/ 34 PC
Stockholm	48/ 28 0.37	45/ 39 C	52/ 49 PC
Vienna	55/ 44 0	62/ 44 C	59/ 48 PC
Warsaw	59/ 51 0.16	60/ 46 C	60/ 47 PC
North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	87/ 77 0.04	88/ 76 T	87/ 77 T
Bermuda	81/ 77 0.30	81/ 72 C	79/ 74 PC
Edmonton	18/ 6 0	21/ 5 C	30/ 20 PC
Guadalajara	83/ 59 0	85/ 55 PC	85/ 59 PC
Havana	89/ 72 0.04	86/ 71 T	85/ 71 T
Kingston	81/ 75 0.91	86/ 79 T	86/ 79 T
Martinique	88/ 75 0.21	89/ 76 PC	87/ 75 Sh
Mexico City	76/ 44 0	75/ 48 PC	77/ 51 PC
Monterrey	90/ 65 0	80/ 63 PC	89/ 65 S
Montreal	71/ 48 0.03	53/ 32 PC	44/ 35 PC
Nassau	83/ 77 0	83/ 76 T	84/ 76 T
Panama City	88/ 75 0.15	83/ 74 T	82/ 75 R
Quebec City	50/ 42 0.15	56/ 28 R	42/ 28 PC
Santo Domingo	90/ 73 0.11	89/ 74 T	90/ 74 T
Toronto	72/ 52 0	46/ 34 PC	45/ 39 C
Vancouver	44/ 40 0.55	47/ 31 S	43/ 33 PC
Winnipeg	32/ 19 0.03	31/ 17 PC	31/ 14 SS
South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	70/ 63 0	70/ 65 PC	71/ 59 R
Caracas	90/ 78 0.36	90/ 76 T	89/ 77 T
Lima	67/ 80 0.02	67/ 80 S	67/ 81 PC
Quito	67/ 51 0.12	67/ 52 Sh	68/ 52 Sh
Recife	86/ 78 0.13	85/ 77 PC	86/ 77 PC
Rio de Janeiro	81/ 68 0	79/ 71 C	76/ 71 T
Santiago	81/ 48 0	78/ 50 PC	71/ 45 PC

Northeast Foliage



Cooler air will begin moving into much of the region over the weekend. Scattered light rainfall will accompany the arrival of the cooler air today. A clearing trend will follow across the Northeast for tonight and tomorrow. Patchy rainfall will linger tomorrow, however, from Maryland and West Virginia on south.

The New York Times

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In a cemetery, ringing notes are alive. BY ZACHARY WOOLFE

3 DANCE

An urgent feat of endurance returns. BY GIA KOURLAS



5 MUSIC

A composer fosters diversity at her academy.

BY CORINNA da FONSECA-WOLLHEIM

Arts
The New York Times



TONJE THIESEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Torch Illuminates the Struggle for Freedom

This summer, the Madison Square Park Conservancy in Manhattan asked the artist Abigail DeVille, above, to create a public artwork for the park. The resulting piece, “Light of Freedom,” invokes a cherished national symbol to address this tumultuous moment in American history. Page 6.



AMAZON STUDIOS

A Sequel’s Salacious Scenes

Looking at 3 wild moments from the new ‘Borat’ movie.

By KYLE BUCHANAN

This article contains spoilers for “Borat Subsequent Moviefilm.”

Fourteen years after the comedian Sacha Baron Cohen brought his character Borat to America, the mustachioed journalist from Kazakhstan is back to wreak more havoc in “Borat Subsequent Moviefilm,” which began streaming Friday on Amazon Prime. In the first film, Borat’s primary goal was

to nab the “Baywatch” star Pamela Anderson as a wife, but his sights are set much higher here, as the Kazakh authorities order him to infiltrate President Trump’s inner circle. Baron Cohen’s undercover prank war ensnares plenty of real-life politicians this time around, including Trump’s personal lawyer, Rudolph W. Giuliani, who has spent the last couple of days attempting to debunk a salacious scene where he appears to make a move on Borat’s teenage daughter. What exactly goes down in the sequel, and should the political scandals on view be

CONTINUED ON PAGE C5

Sacha Baron Cohen reprises his clueless character in “Borat Subsequent Moviefilm,” which is now streaming on Amazon Prime.

The Absurd Poetry Of New York City

The filmmaker John Wilson brings his concept to HBO.

By NATHAN TAYLOR PEMBERTON

When John Wilson first began filming his debut series back in 2018, New Yorkers were able to talk to strangers and sit in restaurants without fear of impending death. We could banter with our bodega guys or older neighbors mask-free, which meant we could reasonably understand what our fellow citizens were muttering and feeling, or the four-lettered words they might be directing at us. If you’ve forgotten what that version of New York is like, “How to With John Wilson,” which premiered this week on HBO, might be the definitive survey of the now ancient traditions of the city — things like splitting the check and making small talk with total strangers. Filmed, narrated and written mostly by Wilson, a lifelong New Yorker, the show might best be described as a darkly funny goof on the explainer videos that have saturated YouTube. But that’s only the setup. Part urban travelogue, part first-person essay, the show is, at its core, an anthropological exploration of people — most often New Yorkers — in their native habitats. And as of now, it’s also kind of nostalgia inducing, with plenty of footage of crowded grocery stores, busy restaurants and streets flooded with people trekking to the office, as they sidestep over dog droppings, spilled food and each other. This isn’t to say Wilson is nostalgic for this New York, himself. “I was afraid New York was going to become boring,” he confessed on a brisk after-

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4



ZACH DILGARD/HBO

‘New York City is the best character — it’s constantly renewing itself, constantly regenerating itself, losing itself.’

JOHN WILSON
FILMMAKER

ZACHARY WOOLFE | CLASSICAL REVIEW

In a Graveyard, Music Lives On

A walking tour at Green-Wood Cemetery offers one of the few chances to see live performance in New York.

IF YOU GET EMOTIONAL listening to the noble melody and stirring words of “Lift Every Voice and Sing,” long the unofficial anthem of Black America, you may not mind hearing it three times over a couple of hours. The song is the through line connecting the disparate episodes of “To America,” a kind of nighttime musical walking tour of Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn and one of the precious few opportunities to experience live performance in New York City this pandemic fall.

Running through Saturday, it has been organized by Andrew Ousley, whose production company, Death of Classical, is no stranger to Green-Wood: Its series The Angel’s Share has for the past couple of years taken place in the cemetery’s eerily long, narrow, vaulted catacombs. (Mr. Ousley likes to wittily play on the cliché that classical music is dying; his other series is set in the crypt of a church in Upper Manhattan.)

As it happens, James Weldon Johnson, the remarkable educator, journalist, translator and activist who wrote the words of “Lift Every Voice” at the turn of the 20th century, is buried at Green-Wood. (His brother, John Rosamond Johnson, composed the music.) This has inspired Mr. Ousley and his collaborators, the Harlem Chamber Players, to create an evening-length work riffing on the anthem, race and history: of the cemetery, and of the United States.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES



To America
Through Saturday at Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn; deathofclassical.com.

It’s a tall order, and while we are still very much in the stage of the pandemic when any production, instrument or voice is inspiring, the result feels incomplete, even slight. Perhaps inevitably: “To America” is composed, after all, from fragments. Each small, masked, socially distanced audience pod — ticket times are staggered so that one of these groups departs every half-hour — moves through the winding, hilly paths with a tour guide, stopping six times for short concerts lit by electric tea candles.

The opening section, in the cemetery’s neo-Gothic chapel, was my first time hearing live music indoors since February. It’s a big, airy space, but even with the doors open and my group of about 20 people spread out widely, it was still a strangely unfamiliar experience to have someone sing to me without a mask on. This was the baritone Kenneth Overton, who gave a passionate rendition of H. Leslie Adams’s “Sence You Went Away,” a setting of a love poem by Johnson.

Mr. Overton was accompanied by a string quartet (Ashley Horne and Claire Chan, violins; Anadi Azikiwe, viola; Wayne Smith, cello) that also played Patrick Cannell’s in-



Scenes from “To America,” clockwise from above: the baritone Kenneth Overton, standing center, in Green-Wood Cemetery’s chapel; the bass Paul Grosvenor in front of the grave of DeWitt Clinton; the violinist Lady Jess in a tunnel formed by weeping beeches.

York State?

In front of Canda’s grandeur, the cellist Robert Burkhart played Caroline Shaw’s flowing “in manus tuas” while the dancer Selina Hack artfully writhed. Near Pine’s resting place, we stood under a huge tree for as unusual a juxtaposition of arboreal songs as I can imagine: Handel’s “Ombra mai fu” (sung by Danielle Buonaiuto) and “Strange Fruit” (sung by Freddie June), both accompanied by the cellist Jules Biber.

By a hillside dotted with the graves of Civil War soldiers, a brass quintet (Dan Blankinship and Hugo Moreno, trumpets; Eric Davis, horn; Burt Mason, trombone; Marcus Rojas, tuba) played “Lift Every Voice,” the Chorale from George Walker’s “Music for Brass, Sacred and Profane” and Rob Booth’s rollicking arrangement of the “Battle Hymn of the Republic.” David Beck recited a Johnson poem, and the mezzo-soprano Lucy Dhegrae sang a quiet version of “Somewhere” from “West Side Story” (I guess because Leonard Bernstein is also buried at Green-Wood? And, while I’m wondering, why didn’t we visit Johnson’s grave?)

The violinist Lady Jess played a wistful improvisation as we walked past her, through a tunnel formed by weeping beeches. And when we ended up in the reverberant catacombs, familiar Death of Classical ground, four string musicians (Chala Yancy and Frédérique Gnaman, violins; Tia Allen, viola; Aaron Stokes, cello) delivered a mournful movement from Walker’s First Quartet. They played Barber’s evergreen “Adagio for Strings” as the tenor Ivan Thompson recited Langston Hughes’s warily optimistic poem “Let America Be America Again.” Then Mr. Thompson sang a clarion rendition of “Lift Every Voice and Sing.”

strumental arrangement of “Lift Every Voice” and Carlos Simon’s brooding “An Elegy: A Cry From the Grave,” dedicated to Trayvon Martin, Eric Garner, Michael Brown and others “murdered wrongfully by an oppressive power.”

On a mild, misty night, walking though a softly illuminated, almost blurry Green-Wood, we then moved to the grave and statue of DeWitt Clinton, the New York governor largely responsible for the construction of the Erie Canal. This was the occasion for our guide describing the canal as both a route for escaping slaves and, paradoxically, as a conduit for products that drove the slave trade.

With the bass Paul Grosvenor singing “Deep River,” this was the most pointed moment of “To America,” when music, the cemetery’s holdings and our country’s conflicted racial past came powerfully together. But it wasn’t quite clear why we then visited the ornate mausoleum of Charlotte Canda, a teenage debutante who died in a carriage accident in 1845. Were we meant to contrast the extravagance of her grave with the modest stone for Margaret Pine, believed to be the last person to die enslaved in New

BRIAN SEIBERT | DANCE REVIEW

A Subdued Event Can Still Feel Special

The Fall for Dance festival creates moments of magic, even when streamed online.

FOR 17 YEARS, New York City Center’s annual Fall for Dance festival has relied on a winning formula. Offer high variety at a low price, sprinkle in some stars and special-event premieres, and you get a populist showcase that feels like a party and an enthusiastic audience that cheers for everything.

Naturally, this year is somewhat different. The price is the same. The variety, stars (Sara Mearns and David Hallberg! Together for the first time!) and premieres are all still on offer. But the portions are reduced: no performing groups larger than three, no international visitors; two programs instead of the usual five or six. Most significantly, the dancers were recorded in the theater, and the audience is scattered, watching online. It’s a quieter, more subdued affair.

The streaming of the first program on Wednesday — the second one debuts on Monday, and both are available on demand through Nov. 1 — was glitchy in spots. The video editing was sometimes disorienting, the introductions a little infomercial stiff and distant. Yet despite the difficulties and safety protocols, City Center made it happen: moments of fresh dance magic.

These occurred for me mainly in the two commissioned premieres. The opening number — three members of Ballet Hispánico dancing to peppy Perez Prado tracks in parts of Gustavo Ramírez Sansano’s “18+1” — was innocuous and insubstantial, especially when compared with the program’s other non-premiere: Martha Gra-



CHRISTOPHER DUGGAN

Sara Mearns and David Hallberg in Christopher Wheelodon’s “The Two of Us,” set to songs by Joni Mitchell.

Fall for Dance
Through Nov. 1; nycitycenter.org.

ham’s classic and once again timely “Lamentation,” from 1930.

Natasha M. Diamond-Walker, a standout member of the Graham company, filled the famous costume, a tube of stretchy fabric, with firm grief. And this is a dance that benefits from the close view of a camera. When Ms. Diamond-Walker shaped the fabric into a triangular opening, you could feel the depth of the hole, like a place to add your own sorrow.

Still, it was the new pieces that dazzled.

Jamar Roberts, the resident choreographer of Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater, presented a solo, “Morani/Mungu (Black Warrior/Black God).” A big, beautiful dancer, Mr. Roberts has no trouble impersonating a god, powerful enough for battle yet benevolent. But the dance also reveals his rarer gifts of subtlety and singular musicality.

The solo comes in three parts to three songs: the Last Poets’s 1971 Black pride track “Black Is,” John Coltrane’s “The

Drum Thing” and an instrumental version of “You’ll Never Walk Alone” played by Nina Simone. Even in his selection of music, Mr. Roberts shows discernment and delicacy about what needs to be said directly and what’s better implied.

It’s typical of Mr. Roberts that the work’s climax comes during a drum solo. Jerking, contracting, whipping around in an irregular rhythm, he could be both sides of a fight, though that metaphor is more obvious than what he does. To the final song, about walking through a storm and keeping your head high, he mainly kneels and rolls and lies on the ground. This isn’t defeat. It feels like a choice.

As for the program’s star pairing, it’s pretty delightful. In “The Two of Us,” the esteemed choreographer Christopher Wheelodon has coupled Ms. Mearns and Mr. Hallberg with Joni Mitchell tracks. When ballet dancers go folk or pop, it can be forced and awkward, but the outcome here is good: a loosening on the surface, like a casual outfit through which you can sense the bones of classical technique underneath, supporting the freedom.

There’s a hint of story about two people who keep drifting apart, and the dance occasionally falls into romantic and choreographic clichés. Mainly, though, it tracks the tone of the songs, at once cleareyed and wistful, and sometimes, as in Ms. Mitchell’s lyrics, “a little bit corny.”

Perhaps because Ms. Mitchell is singing, the emotional point of view seems to be that of the woman. And Ms. Mearns is marvelous — relaxed, independent, insouciantly twisting her shoulders and feet, then floating with grace. It may be hard to imagine Joni Mitchell in toe shoes. Ms. Mearns makes it easier.

7 Stars Take On a Daring ‘Rite of Spring’

Molissa Fenley revives her 1988 solo work for a new generation of dancers.

By GIA KOURLAS

This, we can all agree, is the year of the solo. Molissa Fenley’s thrilling “State of Darkness” is a raw and daring tour de force, full of grief and exaltation, fear and bravery. It explores the ravages of a pandemic, the destruction of the environment and the demise of endangered species.

And the big surprise? She didn’t choreograph it last week. “State of Darkness,” set to Stravinsky’s sweeping, propulsive “Rite of Spring,” dates to 1988.

Ms. Fenley first fell in love with the music after seeing the Joffrey Ballet perform Vaslav Nijinsky’s groundbreaking — and riot-producing — “Le Sacre du Printemps” (reconstructed by Millicent Hodson and Kenneth Archer), in which a young woman, chosen to be a sacrificial victim, dances to her death. She bought a recording of the Stravinsky the next day and began to listen to it during her warm-up; gradually, she found herself adding more movement, namely a deep shuddering in her torso and abdomen that made its way to the beginning of her dance.

But she never saw the soloist in her work as the Chosen One.

“It’s meant to be a human being, so it could be any gender whatsoever and it could be any race whatsoever,” Ms. Fenley, 65, said in a recent interview. “It’s one person representing all people.”

When the Chosen One dies in the Nijinsky work, the dancer in Ms. Fenley’s solo comes forward into space — alive, functioning, reborn. As she put it, “They’ve gone through a rite of passage, and they have been changed.”

Along with her interpretation, Ms. Fenley’s look was fresh, too: She was topless, wearing only black tights. Her cropped hair and small, lean body radiated a kind of androgyny. And Nijinsky was never far from her mind.

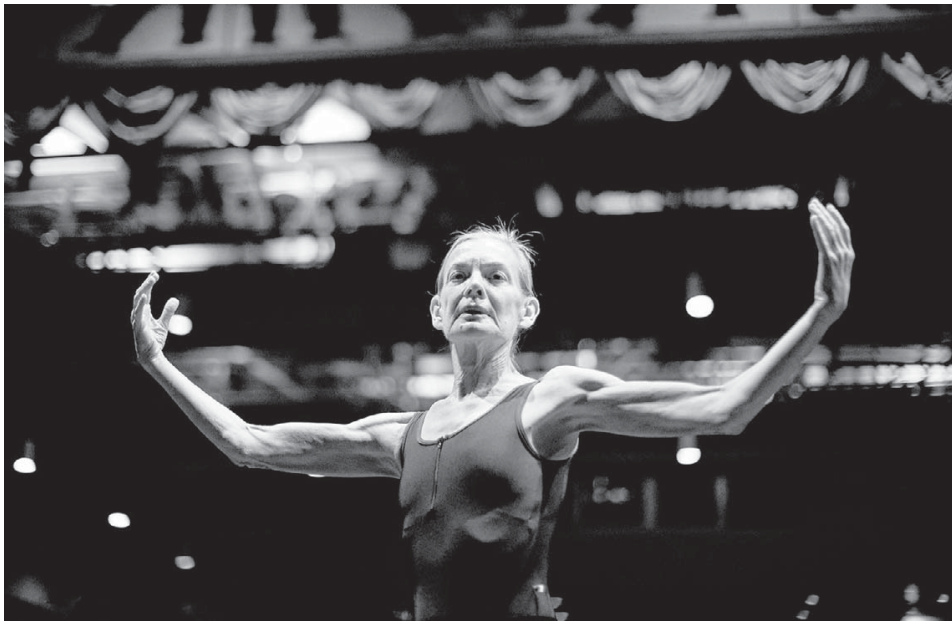
“I felt that Nijinsky had always wanted to do this as a solo, and that I was finally doing it,” she said. “Isn’t that weird? It was just a thought I had in my mind.”

Starting on Saturday, seven stellar performers will have the opportunity to enter into Ms. Fenley’s remarkable “State of Darkness” as part of a digital project presented by the Joyce Theater Foundation: Jared Brown, Lloyd Knight, Sara Mearns, Shamel Pitts, Annique Roberts, Cassandra Trenary and Michael Trusnovic.

Though there won’t be a live audience, the onstage performances will be accessible through JoyceStream; the entire series is \$150 per household (it includes extras, including a live Q. and A. with Ms. Fenley), and individual performances cost \$12.

The steps haven’t changed, but the solo is deeply personal for each dancer: No two renditions will be alike. And this time around, because of the livestream aspect, the women will wear bra tops.

“The most important quality for the dancer is to find themselves completely immersed,” Ms. Fenley said. “The music is unbelievably challenging and beautiful and frightening. It completely takes you over.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MOHAMED SADEK

Molissa Fenley, above, whose solo “State of Darkness” is set to Stravinsky’s “Rite of Spring.” Starting Saturday, seven dancers, including Annique Roberts, right, will perform the work as part of a digital project presented by the Joyce Theater Foundation.



There are many parts where the dance talks back to the score, sometimes going after an accent, sometimes going with an accent. The dance is really set up to deal with the music as a parallel entity. They’re simultaneous.”

And though the seven dancers possess years of expertise in ballet, modern and contemporary dance, the stamina required for “State of Darkness,” which runs at around 35 minutes, is off the charts.

Ms. Mearns, a New York City Ballet principal known for her adventurous spirit when it comes to dance, said that the solo was the hardest role she had ever attempted.

“You have to dig so deep inside of you to keep going,” she said. “And then midway through, it’s just like nothing else exists. I

feel like I’m drowning in it almost, but in a good way.”

Ms. Fenley created “State of Darkness” after she gave up directing a company and began working as a soloist. Its precursor was “In Recognition,” which she choreographed in honor of Arnie Zane, the dancer and choreographer — and former partner of Bill T. Jones — in 1987, the year before Mr. Zane died of AIDS. They were close friends. “I wanted to make something for him as a tribute,” she said, “and dance it for him before he did die.”

“State of Darkness” continued her exploration of losing someone like Mr. Zane and of the AIDS epidemic. But she took it further. “A lot of the imagery is about endangered species,” she said. “I’ve always really been interested in environmental issues.”

She was also thinking about racism. “State of Darkness,” she said, “looks at a lot of issues that have not gone away in our culture.”

The solo is primal, fervent and ornate, and its physicality is extreme: jittery steps and explosive kicks, which are suddenly swept away by the swirling spin of a contracted torso. In creating it, Ms. Fenley mapped out different zones on the stage: Upstage center, for instance, is a place of origination, emergence and rejuvenation; downstage center focuses on strength, mastery and dominance.

She choreographed it at what was then the Dia Foundation on Mercer Street, on the top floor, where the windows gave off a shadowy effect. It helped her get into the mood.

“I would never turn on the lights no matter what the day was,” she said. “So if it was a really dark, rainy day, it was really dark in there and I could hardly see myself, and then other days it was bright and sunny. I was also rehearsing a lot with my glasses off so I could just see a form. A lot of the choreography came from that — from real feeling and then intuition.”

The solo was most recently performed by Rebecca Chaleff, in 2016; she danced with Ms. Fenley for several years and is now a dance scholar and the project’s rehearsal director.

“See you on the other side,” Ms. Chaleff is fond of telling the dancers before they perform a run-through while she watches on Zoom. During a recent rehearsal, the dancer Annique Roberts beat her to it by saying it first. Later, she was asked what the biggest physical challenge was for her. “My lungs,” she said with a laugh.

A longtime member of Ronald K. Brown’s company Evidence, which specializes in contemporary and African dance, Ms. Roberts was immediately drawn to the relationship that the movement has with the music. “She’s with it, she’s against it,” Ms. Roberts said of Ms. Fenley. “She drives it. She allows it to drive her.”

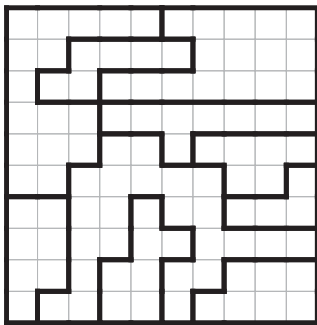
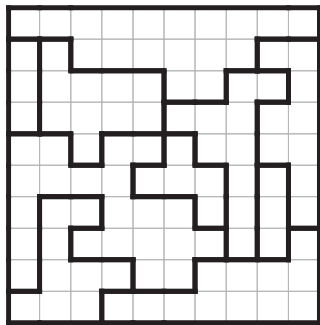
To make it personal, Ms. Roberts focuses on the idea of sacrifice. “What has come to me a lot when I think about this piece are my ancestors and the people that have come before me and the sacrifices that they’ve made so that I can live the life that I get to live,” she said. “It’s especially powerful during this time. People’s eyes are really starting to see the kind of state of darkness that African-Americans and Black people throughout the world have existed in, generations upon generations.”

There are other, more abstract elements there, too. Toward the end of a rehearsal last week — the dancers take turns, and Ms. Mearns had performed the final run of the night — Ms. Fenley remembered a point she had been meaning to make about the ending.

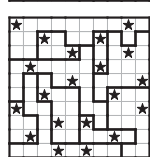
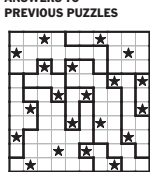
“It’s about entering into these different states so that at the end of it, there’s been a real gathering of knowledge and intuition and insight,” she said in her calm, clear voice. “Stepping into the light is stepping into insight.”

She couldn’t help but laugh at the dancers’ response — dead silence followed by gasps. “Yeah,” she added. “It’s kind of intense.”

Two Not Touch



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

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Wit Twister

A wife’s _____: “His _____ health was fair,

But lately I’ve seen clues it might be failing:

Instead of watching newscasts from his chair,

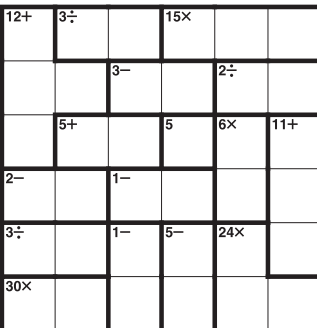
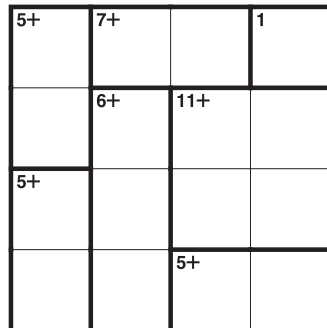
He perches on the fireplace _____, wailing.”

Complete the verse with words that are anagrams of each other. Each underline represents a letter.

PUZZLE BY NANCY COUGHLIN

YESTERDAY’S ANSWER Pushy --> shy

KenKen



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES



Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

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Crossword Edited by Will Shortz

ACROSS

1 Comic improvisations

6 Jacket material

14 Muralla de _____ (Spanish landmark)

15 Home to about 4 in 5 Americans, per the census

16 Categorized by district

17 “Ooh ... impressive!”

18 Function with no limits?

19 Simple shot

20 Facility

21 Sazerac cocktail ingredient

22 Share a course, perhaps

24 Perambulate

26 Supporting frame

31 Drag enthusiast

34 “This is too much for me”

35 Things relied on in desperation

37 Takes a ride?

38 Car feature with hands-free steering

39 Staged attention-getter

41 Teddy bear

42 Discount shoe retailer

45 In-person setting for the Emmys, but not the Oscars: Abbr.

46 Passing options

50 Hole maker

51 Not kosher

52 Going from petticoats to pants, once

54 Icelandic currency

55 Challenge for an infielder

56 Sans _____ (carefree)

57 Eternally, in religious parlance

58 Sedated

DOWN

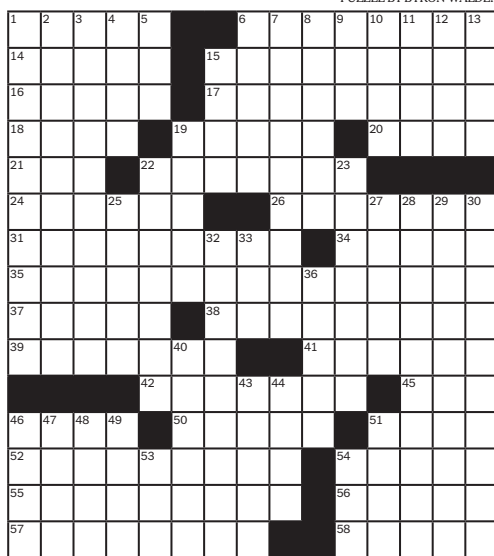
1 Superquick on the uptake

2 Intellectual property?

3 Digital access points

4 Savagely criticize

PUZZLE BY BYRON WALDEN



10/24/20

5 HAL’s earthbound “twin,” in Arthur C. Clarke’s “2010: Odyssey Two”

6 ____ fraîche

7 Certain liberal of the 21st century

8 The Hokies of the A.C.C., for short

9 Suffix with insist

10 Pink or close to it

11 “This is prophetic” in “Nixon in China,” e.g.

12 Requests made to profs for postgrad programs

13 Word with hot or spit

15 Tesla, for one

19 First name of Israel’s first female prime minister

22 Obstructs

23 Arrangements of locks

25 “... eh, scratch that”

27 Quaint accessory for an aviator

28 Speak up boldly

29 Noticeable

30 Local celebration, of a sort

32 Forensic lab activity

33 Extension for 54-Down

36 Squad

40 New Hampshire’s “Gate City”

43 Charging implement

44 One of 30 on a regular dodecahedron

46 “I Do, I Do, I Do, I Do” band, 1975

47 Engage in rodomontade

48 Give up

49 Pileup after digging a hole

51 “____: Uprising” (Disney animated series)

53 Say “You’re so-o-o cute!” say

54 The Wildcats of the Big 12 Conf.

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The Absurd Poetry of New York City

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
noon earlier this month. The filmmaker, 34 this month, was in the strange place of looking ahead to the debut of a show that will already be “aggressively dated” when it comes out. While he’s somewhat worried that viewers might not have appetites for this kind of time travel, Wilson considers himself a documentarian first. He’s less worried about the past than on capturing the present of New York — the lead character that has been a constant in every film he’s made.

“New York City is the best character — it’s constantly renewing itself, constantly regenerating itself, losing itself,” Wilson said. “It makes me want to film as much of it as I can before it disappears.”

While “How To” is Wilson’s first TV series, it’s essentially an expansion of the off-beat “tutorial” videos he has been making on his own since 2010. Like his new show, these early shorts would purport to offer viewers insight into mundane tasks, inspired by the YouTube explainers that fascinated the filmmaker.

“I would watch them and want to know why this person became obsessed with air-conditioners,” Wilson said. “Was it a divorce, or something emotional?”

Wilson, who studied documentary filmmaking at Binghamton University, began trekking all over the city with his digital camera and iPhone, gathering hours of footage of random colorful New Yorkers and other objects of interest — misspelled signage, trash on the street. (The East Village is one of the most reliable sources of material, he said.) He would then reverse-engineer scripts based on the footage and insert personal “incidents” to push the story along.

“There is more raw material here than anywhere else in the world,” Wilson said.

Sitting in the backyard of his apartment in Ridgewood, Queens, wearing a flannel jacket and glasses with thick frames, Wilson has a soft-spoken presence. But his apparent passiveness masks a finely attenuated eye for the absurdity of life in the city. When our conversation is interrupted, at one point, by the distant sound of a neighbor’s violently phlegmatic cough, Wilson breaks into a mockingly repulsed “eww”

‘What we’re seeing in the show is people doing their best to grapple with the world they’ve been dropped into.’

NATHAN FIELDER
EXECUTIVE PRODUCER

and adds a deadpan side-eye. It was the day after President Trump announced that he had Covid-19, and Wilson explained that his morning had been spent filming newsstands across the city in search of New York Post headlines announcing the news.

Inspired by documentary filmmakers like Les Blank, Wilson practices an approach that he describes as “letting the story come to you.” For these early films, which he would upload to Vimeo with little self promotion, this process was intensive. He estimates that each of his 10-minute shorts required a year of gathering footage, in addition to writing and editing, all of this done in his free time while he worked a series of “low-rent” jobs, like editing surveillance footage for a private investigator.

Though the process has been streamlined significantly by an HBO budget, which allowed for a second shooting crew and additional writers, it took two years to shoot and edit the show’s six episodes, which clock in at around 25 minutes each.

“A lot of documentaries are about something that already happened, but I think people are kind of afraid to let the story find them,” he said. “It’s scary because you might not end up with something good.”

An example of “something good” comes in the show’s pilot, “How to Make Small Talk,” in which Wilson explores the ins and



ZACH DILGARD/HBO



HBO



HBO

outs of polite chatter and his own difficulties with it. To reinforce a point about location, he went to a WrestleMania event in New Jersey and conducted interviews (which are unscripted throughout the show) with attendees, the first being with a self-styled “child predator hunter” shown chugging a beer while wearing a fur coat. The chance encounter led Wilson to go home with the man and film him as he attempted to entrap a predator, rerouting the direction of the episode.

“His process is definitely a Catch-22,” said Alice Gregory, one of the show’s three writers (as well as a contributing editor for The New York Times’s T Magazine). “Our scripts were really provisional documents — we would put an ideal scenario on paper, but we knew it was going to change quite a lot.”

Wilson’s videos have a distinct style, finetuned during the process of producing over

a dozen of these small films. He narrates each episode from a script that, juxtaposed with the footage, builds toward something like hard-earned personal revelations. Imagine David Attenborough having minor epiphanies in the style of Carrie Bradshaw.

It’s idiosyncratic stuff, with little to compare it to, though it shares a spirit with other droll vérité gems like “Nathan for You.” It’s not surprising then, that Nathan Fielder, that show’s mastermind, is an executive producer of “How To.” After a mutual acquaintance passed along a link of one of Wilson’s early films to Fielder, the pair met for the first time in January 2018 at Forlini’s restaurant in Chinatown. That night Fielder agreed to develop a longer version of Wilson’s tutorials, having decided they deserved to be seen by a larger audience.

“As someone who doesn’t live full-time in New York, you start to understand the city through what you see on TV and in movies,”

Fielder said in a phone interview from Los Angeles, where he lives. “His New York is the one no one bothers to show, or is too bland or too upsetting or dirty to show.”

Fielder, whom Wilson refers to as his “fairy godfather,” took to describing the show as “‘Planet Earth,’ but for New York” in pitches with networks, which led to HBO agreeing to finance a pilot episode. Here, the wildlife is substituted for confused people making their way through a complicated time.

“What we’re seeing in the show is people doing their best to grapple with the world they’ve been dropped into,” Fielder said. He described his own role as “trying to help out with whatever,” which included expanding Wilson’s premise into longer episodes and working with him in the editing room.

Fielder recalled one moment when Wilson filmed a woman as she delicately placed a wild pigeon into a plastic Duane Reade bag before walking off through Times Square.

“I think about that all the time,” he said. “What is the story with that pigeon, was he injured? Was he being rescued? John’s stuff is all moments like these — there’s so much to think about when I watch the show.”

In the second episode, titled “How to Put Up Scaffolding,” Wilson begins his narration by announcing: “Everyone in New York is going to die, but sometimes the city tries to stop that from happening,” before taking viewers on a history of scaffolding, documenting its status as a public nuisance and occasional killer.

“I spent an entire summer under scaffolding for that one,” Wilson said.

Framed as straightforward guides to achieving small goals (“How to Cook the Perfect Risotto,” “How to Cover Your Furniture”), the episodes stray into strange and personal places: a chance visit with one of Wilson’s ex-girlfriends; a Best Western conference room full of paranoids suffering from the “Mandela Effect”; a Long Island dinner for New York soccer referees. (Wilson wanted to see how those adjudicates of order handled splitting a check — the evening dissolves into a disgruntled revolt.)

Each episode follows its narrative arcs to often preposterous ends. It’s what Wilson calls the “elastic” quality of the tutorial, and the reason he was drawn to it in the first place.

“You can start with fixing an electrical outlet and end up at the edge of a volcano,” he said.

Or you can find yourself needing a how-to guide on finishing production during the early stages of a pandemic. In early March, as the crew finished filming the final episode, the first coronavirus cases began to pop up in the city, a somber fact that gets worked into the end of the season.

“We weren’t writing with the virus in mind,” Gregory said. “That it happened in the middle of the show is almost unbelievable. Everything that interested us about the city began to disappear. Well, not everything.”

Wilson, ever the documentarian, viewed the crisis as a mandate.

“One of my greatest fears is there not being a record of something important,” he said. “So, even though it’s been tragic, and it’s been relentless bad news, the city is also more interesting now.”

“We’re done shooting for the show,” he continued, “but I’ve been shooting nonstop all summer, trying to find everything, like those tents at restaurants, before it disappears.”

During the pandemic many people openly questioned whether living in New York was worth the hassle. If you need a rationale for forging ahead in this perpetually strange environment, Wilson’s show might be the ultimate explainer: How to appreciate life among exotic city dwellers and their inexplicable rituals.

“People might be wondering, with all the Zoom calls and the fact that you could do this anywhere: ‘Why would I live in the most expensive apartments in the most expensive city in America?’” Gregory said. “This show is the reason.”

Museum to Display Trove of Johnny Carson’s Personal Materials

Among items to be included are costumes and notes on his comedy routines.

By DAVE ITZKOFF

It’s been nearly 30 years since Johnny Carson stepped off the stage of “The Tonight Show” for the last time and bid farewell to a singularly innovative television career. Now, two museums are preparing to keep his legacy alive and make his work available to future generations.

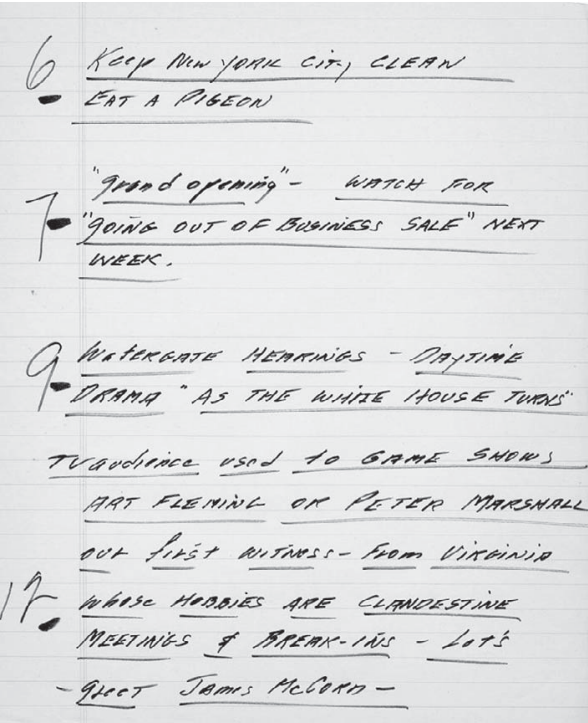
On Friday — which would have been Carson’s 95th birthday — the National Comedy Center in Jamestown, N.Y., and the Elkhorn Valley Museum in Norfolk, Neb., announced plans to preserve a trove of Carson’s personal materials and to create and expand on exhibitions celebrating his life.

From 1962 to 1992, Carson hosted “The Tonight Show” on NBC, where he established himself as a pioneer of late-night television, helping to create countless influential comedy segments and provide rising stars with national exposure. He died in 2005 at the age of 79.

During that time, Carson amassed a collection of papers, as well as awards, videos, clothing, costumes and other artifacts.

Jeff Sotzing, who is president of the Carson Entertainment Group, said that the host gave some of these items to the Elkhorn Valley Museum, near the Nebraska city where Carson grew up.

“When Johnny left NBC, he received a letter asking if he had anything he wanted



NATIONAL COMEDY CENTER AND JEFF SOTZING



CARSON ENTERTAINMENT GROUP

Above, Carson as Art Fern, on the show. Left, monologue jokes from May 18, 1973.

to donate,” said Sotzing, who is Carson’s nephew and a former “Tonight Show” producer. ain’t

“He said to me, as he was sitting in front of all of his Emmys, his Presidential Medal of Freedom and signed autographs and pictures from other celebrities, ‘Just give ‘em all of this — give ‘em everything,’” Sotzing recalled.

After Carson’s death, his widow gave Sotzing other materials, he said, including documents and notes on Carson’s comedy routines. One set of pages contained his comments on a 1973 “Tonight Show” monologue.

“He was provided with a number of jokes, and he then circled the ones that he liked best, underlined the words that he wanted on cue cards and created the order,” Sotzing said. “You can see his whole process of how

it was put together. It’s an art form.”

He added: “There’s lots of papers that we haven’t sorted through yet.”

The National Comedy Center, which has provided a home for the possessions and archives of other comedians, said that it will lead the conservation and digital preservation of this collection. It will also share artifacts and digital assets with the Elkhorn Valley Museum.

Additionally, the National Comedy Center will create a new multimedia exhibition honoring Carson’s tenure at “The Tonight Show,” called “30 Years of Late Night Television, 30 Years Later.” This exhibition, planned to open in 2022, will spotlight many items from the Carson collection (including some of his personally annotated “Tonight Show” monologues) and characters like Carnac the Magnificent, Art Fern and Floyd R. Turbo, as well as the breakthrough performances of other comedians who got their starts on his program.

“We need to ensure that the story of Johnny Carson is told in a way that’s commensurate with his impact on our culture,” said Journey Gunderson, the executive director of the National Comedy Center. “He was a great example of the role that comedy plays in our lives, as something that is cathartic, soothing and keeps us sane on a day-to-day basis.”

The Elkhorn Valley Museum is planning to expand its Johnny Carson Gallery, adding new items and interactive displays that trace the story of the host’s life and career. The updated gallery is expected to open by early next year.

Nurturing Diversity In Young Composers

Gabriela Lena Frank’s Peruvian heritage suffuses her music, and her academy focuses on training new voices.

By CORINNA da FONSECA-WOLLHEIM

Half a dozen. That’s how many times the composer Gabriela Lena Frank reckons she has visited the grocery store since the coronavirus hit in late winter. She and her husband have otherwise been able to fend for themselves: Their 15-acre farm in Mendocino County, Calif., laid out in Inca-style terraces on a redwood-rich mountain slope, is home to chickens, bees, vegetable patches and dozens of fruit trees.

As weeks stretched into months this year, her kitchen became a laboratory for culinary experiments: Wild dandelions proved a hit, as did acorn tortillas. “That’s the kind of thing that sustains me,” she said in a recent phone interview.

In a normal year, the farm would also have been bustling with young composers. Since 2017, it has been the home of the Gabriela Lena Frank Creative Academy of Music, an innovative training institution that aims to foster diverse compositional voices. The core program is a yearlong apprenticeship spread over multiple short visits, but the academy also nurtures performers and facilitates commissions for its graduates. The virus forced its activities online, but even without a pandemic, the smoky haze from the recent wildfires in the region would have made in-person work difficult.

The classical music world has seen many creative initiatives around climate change in recent years. But few artists have examined the environmental impact of their own practices. Ms. Frank, 48, said she had long been concerned about the music industry’s business as usual.

“I built a substantial career on flying,” she said. “Even before the pandemic, I thought, ‘We have to do some things remotely.’”

She added that the increasing ferocity of the wildfires in the West had made her realize the danger of climate change “is here and present and it needs to be grasped.” Fighting it, she said, “is going to define the second half of my life.”

Diversity and sustainability have been preoccupations for Ms. Frank, who was honored this month with a \$250,000 Heinz Award, given in a variety of arts and policy disciplines. Her work celebrates the varied roots of a family tree that includes her Peruvian mother, a father descended from Lithuanian Jews and a Chinese great-grandfather who sold supplies to Andean miners. In her music it’s the Peruvian heritage that comes through most clearly, with folk melodies woven into high-spirited pieces full of vibrant colors, slicing rhythms and volatile textures that contract, swell and warp.

She often subverts aural expectations. A string quartet might briefly conjure the sound of pan flutes through clever use of harmonics. In “Ritmos Anchos,” written for the Silk Road Ensemble, a Chinese pipa takes on the guise of a charango, a Peruvian mandolin. Her “Sonata Andina” for piano is muscular, playful and cheerfully combative.

The piano was her chosen instrument — even before she could hear. Her near-profound hearing loss was only detected when she was 4 and a teacher who had experience with deaf children noticed the way she interacted with the kindergarten classroom’s piano. Until then, she had been a happy but quiet child.

Ms. Frank said she vividly remembered the moment she was set up with hearing aids. “The air just came to life when they turned it on,” she said. “It was like ‘whishhh.’ It was like I had grown another hand.” She started speaking days later.

She studied composition at Rice Univer-

sity and earned her doctorate at the University of Michigan; commissions around the country followed. But while her career blossomed, she felt her outsider status keenly: a woman of Latino descent with a disability. And she saw how difficult it was for others to pry open the gates.

In founding her academy, she set out not only to nurture new voices but also to encourage alternative musical careers, grounded in activism and service. In Boonville, where her farm is, she teaches evening classes and volunteers at the local middle school, which serves many children of undocumented agricultural workers.

She hopes more musicians will embrace opportunities to work in their communities, dislodging received notions of career prestige. “If we put just as much time into setting up models for a young violinist to tutor at an impoverished school,” she said, “and make that just as important and wonderful as winning a competition, then we would be better able to handle crises like this one.”

One graduate of Ms. Frank’s academy is Iman Habibi, an Iranian-Canadian pianist and composer who was commissioned by the Philadelphia Orchestra to contribute a work this year in honor of the 250th anniversary of Beethoven’s birth. In a phone interview, Mr. Habibi recalled being at first taken aback when he received the academy’s schedule. It contained relatively few musical events, he said. Instead, time was set aside for nature hikes and communal cooking. Ms. Frank’s opening question to



HIROYUKI ITO/GETTY IMAGES

each member of the group also came as a surprise: “Who are you?”

Mr. Habibi said, “She has this gift for making the focus on the human, rather than technical.” Unlike in a traditional conservatory setting, he added, Ms. Frank emphasized that “our stories are just as important as our art, and it’s just in the context of who I am that my music makes sense.”

Ms. Frank has funded the program through private donations and is able to offer scholarships to 90 percent of participants. The course connects composers with instrumentalists in order to develop ideas away from the pressure of deadlines — “like a scientist receiving money for pure research,” she said. Experiments are encouraged.

“We get rid of the shame of wrong notes,” she said. “We make good food and I say, ‘You get to make mistakes here.’”

Ms. Frank opens the door to applicants who might not gain entry to standard conservatories. In 2017, Anjna Swaminathan was a violinist deeply conversant in Carnatic music. But, she said in a recent phone interview, she assumed composition was closed to her because she came out of an oral tradition. Ms. Frank, though, encouraged her to apply. The mentorship, Ms. Swaminathan said, taught her how to read and write music, but also how “to create a dignity and ownership around my own voice while navigating new territory.”

Just a couple years later, Ms. Swaminathan has written a string quartet for the Orchestra of St. Luke’s and an evening-length solo work for the violinist Heyyung Yoon. On Nov. 16, she will premiere two



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CARLOS CHAVARRIA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Gabriela Lena Frank, above and left, on her farm in Mendocino County, Calif., which is also home to the Gabriela Lena Frank Creative Academy of Music. Above far left, Ms. Frank playing her “Sonata Andina” at Merkin Concert Hall in New York in 2003.

works as part of the program “Rivers Above, Floods Below,” livestreamed by Roulette, the Brooklyn performance space.

Almost as soon as Ms. Frank graduated the first cohort, she found herself brokering commissions from ensembles hungry for new, diverse voices. “I’m a mini agent,” she said. She is developing an extension of her academy to facilitate these connections.

“She’s got this nurturing charisma about her,” Ms. Swaminathan said of Ms. Frank. “All the good things about motherhood and femininity and familiarity are brought into this scary space. Her home is in the middle of a mountain. There’s dogs everywhere, and chickens. It shows you that music making is an earthly thing, so why not connect to the earth while we make it?”

A Sequel’s Three Most Salacious Scenes

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taken seriously? Here’s a quick rundown of three of the most-talked-about moments in “Borat Subsequent Moviefilm.”

Borat’s Encounter With Mike Pence

In his first attempt to curry favor with the American authorities, Borat plans to give Vice President Mike Pence a famous monkey that has become an adult-film star in Kazakhstan. (Yes, that old plotline.)

Upon arriving in the United States, Borat prries open the crate containing the monkey and finds his teenage daughter Tutar instead; she has stowed away on his trip and eaten the monkey in transit. Left without his simian offering, Borat instead resolves to give Tutar to Pence as a child bride, and he travels to the Conservative Political Action Conference, held in February in Maryland, in the hopes of making the handoff to the vice president while he’s speaking at the event.

“How would I slip into this conference of Republicans unnoticed?” Borat wonders in voice-over. First, he dresses as a Klansman, nodding to conference-goers in the lobby from beneath his white hood. (“I’m Stephen Miller,” squawks Borat, referencing Trump’s senior adviser.) Having gotten past the lobby, Borat then takes refuge in a bathroom and assembles a second disguise, this time dressing up as Trump.

Flinging Tutar over his shoulder, Borat-as-Trump rushes into the ballroom to interrupt Pence’s speech, an incident that even made headlines at the time. “I brought the girl for you!” Borat yells at the peeved vice president before being ejected by security. But the most damning part of the sequence isn’t Borat’s prank; it’s the way the film lingers on Pence’s assertion that the gov-



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Top, Sacha Baron Cohen, dressed as Donald Trump, holding Maria Bakalova at the Conservative Political Action Conference. Above, the two actors in another scene from “Borat Subsequent Moviefilm.”

ernment had the coronavirus outbreak under control, at a time when there were still only 15 reported U.S. cases. What could Borat say that’s more shocking than real life?

A Hotel Room and Rudolph Giuliani

Having gotten nowhere with Pence, Borat resolves instead to give Tutar to Giuliani. But father and daughter hit a rough patch as Tutar undergoes a feminist awakening (as well as a Fox News blond-bombshell makeover), and she sets off to interview Giuliani on her own. Borat, who’s had a change of heart, rushes to the interview in the hopes of saving his daughter from what he presumes will be a carnal sacrifice.

In the meantime, Tutar and Giuliani sit down in a hotel room for the interview, which a nervous Tutar repeatedly fumbles. Giuliani attempts to reassure the girl, who responds with obsequious flattery and flirtation. The two even share some alcohol.

Here’s where things get . . . well, let’s say selectively edited.

“Shall we have a drink in the bedroom?” Tutar appears to ask Giuliani in the scene, though the actress is turned away from the camera while the line is heard. In the bedroom, Giuliani appears to say, “You can give me your phone number and your address,” though he, too, has his back to the hidden camera when the line is heard.

While Giuliani sits on the bed, Tutar unbuttons his shirt and appears to remove a microphone pack, but the moment is contextualized and scored to appear more like a seduction. Giuliani then leans back on the bed and puts a hand down his pants.

Giuliani has since claimed that he was merely tucking his shirt back in, and a plausible case could be made from the footage

that he’s doing just that. Still, the camera lingers on Giuliani’s hand as it travels south of his waistband — an event that’s prolonged using multiple angles — until a lingerie-clad Borat interrupts the encounter and offers to take his daughter’s place, saying, “She 15, she too old for you.” (The actress playing Tutar, the newcomer Maria Bakalova, is 24.) Confused, Giuliani leaves.

When the encounter went down in July, Giuliani told The New York Post that he called the police on Baron Cohen. In the film, Borat and Tutar escape and go for a giddy victory run through the streets of New York. They got what they wanted and, clearly, so did Baron Cohen.

A Surprise Covid-19 Conspiracy

As the film wraps up, Borat returns to Kazakhstan and stumbles upon a shocking comic revelation: His mission, as designed by the Kazakh authorities, was actually a revenge plot to spring the coronavirus on the world.

Before he left, Borat was secretly injected with Covid-19, making him an unwitting patient zero for the pandemic. In a series of flashbacks, the horrified Borat remembers that his boat trip to America incorporated a pit stop at a wet bar in Wuhan, China, where he coughed all over the items on sale; he even docked briefly in Sydney and caught on Tom Hanks, who turns up for a game cameo appearance.

In real life, Hanks was among the first high-profile Americans to contract the coronavirus, in March, while shooting an Elvis Presley biopic in Australia. Borat certainly makes for a funnier scapegoat, though Giuliani may find Baron Cohen’s super-spreading headlines less amusing.



Liberty’s Light, Recast to Shine On Lost History

Abigail DeVille’s public art project conjures the yearning of the dispossessed.

By HILARIE M. SHEETS

When Abigail DeVille began site research for her public art project in Manhattan’s Madison Square Park, she stumbled on a wild 1876 photograph of the Statue of Liberty’s detached hand and flaming torch in the park. For six years, the surreal fragment was on view there to generate excitement and raise funds for the pedestal to hold the colossal statue coming to New York from France.

“History had already done it for me,” said Ms. DeVille, who knew instantly that the giant torch was the perfect form to contain materials and metaphors conjuring the struggle for liberty in America, past and present.

The installation titled “Light of Freedom,” the 39-year-old Bronx artist’s first solo exhibition in her hometown, opens on Tuesday in the park just north of East 23rd



Street. There a 13-foot-tall, rusted lattice structure evokes the silhouette of Lady Liberty’s torch. Inside the handle is a weathered schoolhouse bell, a visual “call to action” according to Ms. DeVille. Dozens of mannequin arms, painted blue, are clustered inside the armature of the flame shape, suggesting both a wave and the hottest part of fire.

The piece summons “a long line of freedom fighters who have been protesting to exist in this nation from the very beginning,” Ms. DeVille said. Here and in other



The artist Abigail DeVille, top left, is installing her sculpture “Light of Freedom,” above, in Madison Square Park in Manhattan at the request of the park’s conservancy. Inside the torch’s handle is a weathered schoolhouse bell, below left, which is a visual “call to action,” Ms. DeVille explained.

site-specific works around the country, she has collected found objects and unearthed little-known African-American histories, reframing them in installations that can both provoke and inspire.

This summer, Brooke Kamin Rapaport, the deputy director and chief curator at the Madison Square Park Conservancy, approached Ms. DeVille about making a piece that could address the tumultuous political moment and protests erupting across the nation after the killing of George Floyd.

“The program needed to pose the question of how public art right now can impact people and communities and respond in civic space to this unprecedented time,” Ms. Rapaport said.

While an accelerated timeline for the conservancy, three-months lead time for the artist was “almost luxurious,” Ms. DeVille said, laughing heartily earlier this month at her small Bronx studio, where mannequin limbs cascaded in an unruly mountain. In 2017 alone, she completed 14 on-site projects, including in Los Angeles, St. Louis, Pittsburgh and Miami. “I usually just land somewhere, research, gather materials and then install happens over two weeks,” she said of her itinerant practice.

In her research for “Light of Freedom,” including Ric Burns’s 1999 series “New York: A Documentary Film” and a 1977 article in The New York Times, she learned that 11 Angolans were the first Black people brought to New Amsterdam in 1626 by the Dutch West India Company. After successfully petitioning for their freedom in 1644, some were later granted land to farm just south of the future Madison Square Park, as a buffer between the Dutch settlements downtown and the Native peoples farther north.

In the years after the British took over the city, “Black people’s lands were confiscated,” Ms. DeVille said, calling that dispossession the first wave of centuries of gentrification upending lives and pushing Black communities to the margins.

The artist elevates their continual push-back for justice, writ large by the Black

Lives Matter movement, in the torch’s flame, crowded with the outstretched mannequin arms as an image of both oppression and exultation. “‘If there is no struggle, there is no progress,’” she said, quoting a Frederick Douglass speech that has informed how she approached the piece.

Ms. DeVille “collapses how we think about past, present and future time, especially for Black Americans’ narratives,” said Deana Haggag, the president and chief executive of United States Artists. In her former role as executive director at the Contemporary museum in Baltimore, Ms. Haggag commissioned the artist in 2016 to make an installation examining the city’s former Peale Museum, where she contextualized the history of Black protest in Baltimore a year after Freddie Gray’s death in police custody.

Ms. DeVille got her first big break in 2005 while a student at the Fashion Institute of Technology. She was one of eight unknown

An artwork summons ‘a long line of freedom fighters who have been protesting to exist in this nation’ from its genesis.

artists, selected by the dealer Jeffrey Deitch, to land a roll on the short-lived reality TV show “Artstar.” “It was really a casting call because it was your work and what you were wearing,” Ms. DeVille said.

When the show premiered, Mr. Deitch told The Times that Ms. DeVille’s work had matured the most over the course of filming. He sold one of her inventive large-scale collages to a Belgian collector for five figures. “That was a big encouragement to keep going on this path,” she said.

While at Yale University, where she received a master’s in fine arts in 2011, Ms. DeVille was influenced by her grandmother’s penchant for collecting houseplants, silverware, appliances, clothing and other

random throwaways from her neighbors, calling her the “unofficial archivist” of her housing project in the Bronx. The objects were “the silent witnesses of all these people’s lives,” said Ms. DeVille, who surreptitiously carted some items back to school. “That shaped the way I thought about material.”

At Yale, she incorporated some of these castoffs into her first installation piece, “New York at Dawn,” her response to a Federico García Lorca poem referring to “a hurricane of black doves that paddle in putrescent waters.” That was also her first use of a mannequin as a generic stand-in for humanity.

“It can speak very quickly to larger societal concerns,” said Ms. DeVille, who sees herself working in the lineage of assemblage artists that include Noah Purifoy, Robert Rauschenberg and Louise Nevelson. At her studio, a mannequin wearing a space helmet and yards of glittery chain necklaces is a work in progress for the group show “Pedestrian Profanities,” curated by the artist Eric Mack and opening at Simon Lee in New York on Thursday.

For Madison Square Park, she has contained her torch within scaffolding, which she sees as a metaphor for the continual labor involved in the building of freedom and also as a ladder symbolizing how different groups have ascended, at times on the backs of others.

“It’s not that the Statue of Liberty is a myth — this place has been a refuge for lots of people,” Ms. DeVille said. She gilded the scaffolding to refer to Emma Lazarus’s famous poem about the statue that includes the line, “I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”

But Ms. DeVille’s “Light of Freedom” commemorates the kind of efforts that have not been talked about or have been lost to history. “It’s a response to what happened this summer and what’s continuing to happen in terms of the calls for this racial reckoning,” she said. “It’s a monument to all of those things, and there is joy in that.”

NATALIA WINKELMAN | FILM REVIEW

Grief Propels a Tween Heroine’s Lunar Landing



Enthralled by the myth of a lunar goddess, Fei Fei is voiced by Cathy Ang, with Gobi, voiced by Ken Jeong, in “Over the Moon.”

An adventure stumbles on arrival at a gaudy moonscape.

IN THE BLAND animated adventure “Over the Moon,” a girl’s longing for her late mother inspires her journey to the moon.

Dreading her father’s remarriage, the plucky tween Fei Fei (Cathy Ang) latches onto the myth of Chang’e, a lunar goddess who pines after her mortal soul mate. If Fei Fei can prove Chang’e — and her everlasting love — exist, then perhaps her father will abandon his plan.

The movie, on Netflix and directed by Glen Keane, opens in a scenic Chinese city where Fei Fei’s family runs a mooncake shop.

By day, Fei Fei teeters on a bike delivering sweets. But in the evening, she works furiously at her desk, sipping bubble tea while modeling the rocket she hopes will carry her to Chang’e.

Throughout, the frame is awash with exquisite detail: gondolas floating on canals, the glow of paper lanterns, the tactile quality of the dough Fei Fei rolls into moon-

cakes. But once the young adventurer parks on the moon, a lurid landscape called Lunaria, the animation weakens considerably. Rather than action taking place on meticulously rendered topography, it is set against brightly colored backdrops speckled with magnified pixels, and the planet’s gummy creatures — including Fei Fei’s soon-to-be

Over the Moon
Rated PG. Running time: 1 hour 35 minutes.
On Netflix.

pal Gobi (Ken Jeong) — look as if neon pieces from the game Candy Crush had come to life.

Similar to “Coco,” the Pixar story this film most resembles, “Over the Moon” uses buoyant folklore to explore a child’s grappling with death. But this movie’s gaudy and generic attempts at interstellar whimsy can only dream of reaching the visual fantasy heights of “Coco.”

“Over the Moon” deserves credit for launching an unflinching lesson about grief. If only it had taken a different flight path.